

A
SOCIAL HISTORY
OF
ISLAMIC INDIA

1605-1748

by

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TO
DR. KALIKA-RANJAN QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta)
As a humble token of gratitude

“Gar qubul ustad zahe ‘izzō sharaf”.

PREFACE

Long before the birth of modern democracy Islam held the dictum that *millat* (community) is more important than the *malik* (ruler). But under the monarchy-ridden ancient civilizations of the Orient, and of Medieval Europe the muse of History became a handmaid of monarchical courts, almost oblivious of the common people except as subjects of oppression or victims of war, famine and pestilence. Only England could boast of being a people's country, and there even the people came by its own at the bar of History in the nineteenth century with the publication of J.R. Green's epoch-making *History of the English People*. Here in our country ancient Hindus cared little for history and in medieval times Indian history only fell in line with the courtly traditions of Islam outside India. Islam in its days of youthful intellectual vigour studied history from more than one angle of vision, not only political but also geographical and cultural such as *Futuh-ul-Buldan* and *Kitab-ul-Aghani*.

Studies in Medieval Indian history have been top-heavy, where Sultans and Padshah-s with their terror-striking entourages figure almost exclusive of the common people. This is to a great extent responsible for a very wrong notion current that there can be no history of the peoples of the East as they show no development; apparently they are "the same yesterday, today, and for ever" (barring out the twentieth century). This prejudice gains additional force from the fact that Indian chronicles tire out the patience of scholars by panegyrics of kings and nobles, battles and sieges, intrigues and murders, vices natural and un-natural.

They hardly relieve the tedium of sameness by any welcome diversions to the state of society and the lot of the common man.

It is also a confirmed belief of non-Muslims that Muslims are incapable of progress, because Islam is a totalitarian religion of stereotyped rigidity. But the fact is perhaps otherwise. Islam was never meant to be stagnant as the Prophet himself said, "He whose days are alike is deceived". Wasil bin 'Ata and Mansur bin Hallaj outside India; and Kabir and Akbar, Dara Shukoh and Mirza Jan-i-Janan in India, were not certainly products of any unprogressive culture.

Though Islam and the Muslim community cannot be separated in a study of either, it is unfair to hold Islam responsible for the evils of the Muslim community, and their tendency of religious intolerance and communalism. The Muslims in Medieval India committed political and moral sins for which Allah punished them with the loss of their sway over this land for five hundred years. What exactly these sins were stirred my curiosity as a Muslim and a student of Indo-Muslim history. Books like *Qanun-i-Islam* or the *Indian Mussalmans*, though useful, cannot satisfy an advanced student of history. There is also a personal factor in my choice of subject. I am a Musalman of orthodox Muslim stock, and my impressionable years were the years of a strong Muslim propaganda of Two-Nations theory, that gave birth to Pakistan. I found our elders divided in their opinion, some hugging fast to the Two-Nations theory, others turning away from it as a freak of diseased political imagination. Naturally I paused to think, which way the truth lies, and History alone holds the key of truth. My aim is to make an objective scientific study of the life of the Muslim community of India till the end of the nineteenth century to get at the truth of the Two-Nations theory. I planned to start with the middle, namely, the era of Orthodox Muslim Reaction from the reign of Jahangir to that of Muhammad Shah, and then work my subject backward and forward with greater leisure.

My toughest fight in this study has been one against the Muslim in me, because Science writes Truth only on a clean slate. I have not allowed my inborn prejudice and patriotism to interfere with my study of the object, though it may not be possible to escape from one's own self. I have tried to scan this portion of the history of the Muslim community of India with the eye and spirit of great Al-Beruni in his study of Indian culture.

I have narrowed down my investigation to the Muslim community of Northern India only; because from the view-point of social history what was true of the North was also true of the South with only a slight local variation. Delhi was in truth the Rome of Medieval India diffusing

the rays of authority and culture, of taste and refinement over this sub-continent.

The earlier portion of the thesis (ch. 1-7) is an *analysis* of the Muslim community which also provides a clear perspective for a better appraisal of the reactionary activities during the period under review; and the later portions deal with the Reform Movement initiated by Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi down to Shah Waliullah Dehlavi and Sayyid Ahmad of Rae Bareilly with an Introductory chapter on the Mahdist movement in India and the clash of Orthodoxy and Liberalism during the reign of Akbar. What is considered a reform by the Muslims may appear as reaction from the political and historical point of view. Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani, his sons and successors perhaps made a wrong approach in their reform. They aimed at reform from the top, that is, the King and Nobility; whereas the right method would have been to work from the bottom of the Muslim society to the top. They believed in the maxim that "The *Shari'at* prospers under the shadow of the sword of the Sultan". This is rank militarism and religious Imperialism, which was as much out of date after Akbar as it is today. If *Shari'at* was never safe without the might of the sword, Islam would have disappeared in every Muslim country that had at any time fallen under an alien domination. The *Shari'at* is not under the shadow of the sword, but of Allah and as such it has proved imperishable. The reform movements in Medieval India have always left an aftermath of fanaticism and senseless hatred for anything new. The missionary religions of Islam, Christianity and a school of Buddhism in ancient and medieval times taught their followers to hate others so that they might love their own better. An edifice of love built on the foundation of hatred is sure to crumble. Hindustan stood in the need of a Mujaddid no doubt; a reformer who could teach the Muslims to live better lives, and let those outside the fold of Islam also live with honour and prestige; to instil a love for Islam without any accompanying injection of hatred for things un-Islamic.

As regards the sources I have relied mainly on the Islamic sources and the contemporary European accounts. The Quran and the *Hadis* have been frequently referred to as they form the original sources for the study of Islamic institutions. The works of eminent Muslim theologians, both Shia and Sunni, have been also utilized. A painstaking hunt of the contemporary Persian chronicles and literary works for stray materials throwing light on the state of Muslim society of India of the period, was amply rewarded and they have helped me a long way. The official and semi-official histories of the period have been also used as the

attesting authority in the treatment of the Orthodox Reform Movement in India. The *Tazkirahs* and *Maktubat* of the Muslim saints, almost unexplored sources of Medieval Indian History, have been made full use of. The Muslim Reform Movement has been described in the light of materials available from these sources. It is believed that Mughal history can never be properly understood without reference to the social and religious movements of the period.

I perhaps owe an explanation for using extensively accounts of foreign travellers who visited India during the period under review. Our people, particularly the Muslims resent many things said by them about man and things in this country. Barring the few harem scandals we ought to take note of what they wrote about the character and habits, virtues and weaknesses of our people. Scandals there were, and there are in royal harem and aristocratic society, polygamous or monogamous, in the East and no less in the West. We have no doubt a grievance against Manucci for what he says about Shahjahan and the pious Jahanara. But historical inaccuracies that mingle in these scandals and the known character of persons easily discredit them as irresponsible bazar gossips always eloquent on false aspersions on female virtues. But nobody can fairly reject *in toto* facts about India to be found in Manucci. In a study of history enemies have their uses no less than friends.

Moreover, any Hindu bias always suspected by the injured pride of the Muslim community under the early British regime, cannot be reasonably attributed to the European travellers who sought and enjoyed greater intimacy with the Muslims than with the Hindus. They had, so far as we can see, no ill-feeling and bias against the Muslims except on the score of their obdurate bigotry too hard for the Jesuits to seduce any of the faithful from "darkness to light". These accounts have been sifted and weighed to the best of my ability, and as a student of History I had to accept as true which as a Muslim I wished they were untrue. These Europeans were intelligent and shrewd observers, and more famous among them, for example, Bernier and Tavernier, Terry and Manucci, had opportunities to study the Muslim society at close quarters. Some of them had intimate knowledge of Muslims outside India and as such they could detect points of similarity and differences between a Hindustani and an Irani. Muslims, according to these accounts, were neither a separate nation in India, though they were the leaders of the heterogeneous Indian society in culture and civilization, both spiritual and material so far as the public life in general was concerned.

I had to quote authorities sometimes not strictly contemporary. This is because of the accepted fact that a society or a community does not

transform itself overnight; and no social legislation takes effect immediately. What was true in the days of Akbar regarding the Muslim community remained to a great extent true also in the reigns of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzib; after Aurangzib a change for the worse became rather too rapid.

I have got no words to express my most profound feelings of gratitude to Dr. Kalika-Ranjan Qanungo, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta), formerly Professor of History, Universities of Dacca and Lucknow and the celebrated author of *Sher Shah*, *Dara Shukoh* etc., who not only in seeing through this thesis has not spared himself,—nor has spared me on the plea that his own master, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, had made him write some chapters of his *Sher Shah* seven times over again but whose paternal affections made up the loss of my father. But for his caresses, consolations and constant financial help I would have succumbed to the tyranny of circumstances long before.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Badauni	<i>Muntakhab-ul-Tawarikh</i> of Abdul Qadir Badauni
<i>Baharistan</i>	<i>Baharistan-i-Ghaibi</i> trans. M.I. Borah
Bid. Ind.	Bibliotheca Indica Series
<i>Dabistan</i>	<i>Dabistan-ul-Mazahib</i>
Firishta	<i>Tarikh-i-Firishta</i>
<i>Iqbalnama</i>	<i>Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri</i> of Motamad Khan
Ibn Batuta	Travels of Ibn Batuta, <i>Ajaib-ul-Asfar</i>
J.A.S.B.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
J.R.A.S.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of London
Khafi Khan	<i>Muntakhab-ul-Lubab</i> of Khafi Khan
<i>Mishkat</i>	<i>Mishkat-ul-Masabih</i>
<i>Maktubat</i>	<i>Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani</i> Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi
Rose's Glossary	A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province
<i>Siyar</i>	<i>Siyar-ul-Mutakhhirin</i>
<i>Siyasi Maktubat</i>	<i>Shah Waliullah Dehlavi ke Siyasi Maktubat</i>
<i>Tuzuk</i>	<i>Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri</i> , trans. Rogers and Beveridge

CHAPTER I

THE COMMUNITY

Section 1. Composition of the Community.

From the time of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi down to the accession of Emperor Jahangir the Muslims¹ of Hindustan had developed into a partially Indianized heterogeneous community around the small nucleus of foreign conquerors and immigrants of diverse races, the Arab and the Afghan, the Turk and Turkoman, Mongols and the mongloid Tatar. The Muslim community, however, presented a sharp contrast to the vast Hindu majority on account of the community of religion, and a certain amount of manners and customs enjoined by Islam. Soil and environment had moulded the diverse foreign racial elements into an intermediate ethnic type approximating the Indian; but politically and culturally the Muslims maintained an exclusiveness towards the old indigenous inhabitants of the country. It was the dream of Akbar to accelerate the natural process of Indianization of the Muslim community of Hindustan politically, culturally and spiritually and usher in a new millennium.

¹ Literally, "folk of the path", i. e., those who follow the ceremonial ordinances of Islam (*Burhan-i-Qati'a*).

Islam has been since its start a more powerful nation-making agency than perhaps Hinduism and Christianity in the Middle Ages. The Arab and the Berber, the Iranian and the Turanian, the Indo-Aryan Afghan and the Græco-Roman Albanian peoples, were all reborn as nations under the impact of Islam. This is because Islam offers a mighty steel-frame, political, religious, social and cultural to backward peoples, and furnishes a rallying point to mutually repellant tribal elements².

Islam in Hindustan enforced as everywhere else a rigid uniformity in ideas and actions and an outward conformity to the standard Islamic tradition of dress, manners and customs. Any innovation was branded a sin, and a Muslim's ideal of life was to resemble his Arab archetype as closely as possible. The Prophet of God stands before every Muslim as a great Exemplar, and it is *sunna* to imitate the Prophet in the pettiest detail of his action and habit, to conform to the length and thickness of the Prophet's *miswak* in choosing his own tooth-stick, and keep to the length of the Prophet's nether garment in determining that of his own *tahband* (loin-cloth) or *pyjamah*. Thus Arabicism and Islam became synonymous in the orthodox mind.

But man has proved even too strong for Religion in the process of the progress of the civilization of the world, and it was no exception in Islam. If Islam moulded the character of recruits to its fold, the recruits have no less moulded the character of Islam in different countries, and hence diversity in place of homogeneity comes to the forefront on the issue not of Islam but of Arabicism. Islam galvanized the conquered communities into nations no doubt; but these revitalized nations, particularly those with an older civilization rose in revolt not against Islam but against Arabicism. This racial and intellectual revolt within the fold of Islam began with the Shubiyya movement under the Umayyad Caliphs of Damascus, and it culminated in our own age in the great

² There is a sort of *religious nationalism* in Islam and anything that makes for class distinction is abhorrent to its true spirit. Muhammad declared in his last sermon, "Know that every Muslim is the brother of every other Muslim. Ye are all a fraternity; all equal". *Mishkat*.

Turkish Revolt against Arabicism led by Mustafa Kemal, and gradually there emerged the twin camps of the Arab and Non-Arab nations within the fold of Islam.

The veneer of unreal homogeneity of the Muslim community of India is more or less an aerial view that joins together patches of humanity here on the hard earth of realities below. Such a vision is pleasing to all, and inspiring only to the philosopher or the politician. It seems to vanish at the touch of an objective historical study of the Muslim community of Hindustan during the period under review; nor did truth escape the keen observation of European travellers in India who knew the Indian Muslims pretty intimately.

Though the Muslim community of Hindustan presented itself to the superficial view as *prima facie* a solid homogeneous block held together by the cement of Islam, it was in reality a composite community having within its fold representatives of races from all over the Muslim world and Hindu converts from all grades of society. They did form a nation distinct from Indian nationality in the days of their sway over this sub-continent, each of the component ethnic and racial groups betraying too much proud self-consciousness to be moulded into a compact homogeneous whole³.

In the seventeenth century the Muslims from outside Hindustan were predominantly Turks⁴, Afghans⁵ and Persians with a sprink-

³ Compare Mandelslo's statement: "All the Mahumetans (Muslims) of these parts (i. e. of Hindustan) may be said to profess the same Religion; but they have among them certain Superstitions, and particular Manners of life, whereby they are distinguished into several sects, though it may be also alleged, that they are to be accounted rather so many Nations then (than) different sects". p. 65.

⁴ Father Du Jarric says, "... two kinds of Turkish soldiers are found in India, those of Asia, to whom the name Turc (Turk) is given, and those of Europe, who are mostly from Constantinople, which has been called New Rome, on which account they are called Rumes (Rumis) both by Indians and Portuguese, ..." *Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 174. *Rum*, the Arabic form of the Latin *Roma*, was the name given to the Seljukian empire, which extended from the Euphrates to Constanti-

ling of Abyssinians and Arabs⁶. The foreigners were divided into two main groups—Turani⁷ and Irani. The Oxus was the imaginary line of demarcation which determined their nationality⁸. The original home of the Afghans was what it is today, namely, the Valley of the Sulaiman Range⁹. The Pathans had established themselves

nople and from the Black Sea to the confines of Syria; and the word “*Rumi*” was accordingly used to designate both the Turks of Europe and those of Asiatic Turkey. But this designation has been generally used in a restricted sense denoting only the Turks of Europe. See *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 768.

⁵ For the origin and the geneology of the Afghans see *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarret), II, 402, 403; B. Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Part I, vi, viii, ix; Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, I, 200, 205-207; Briggs’ *Firishta*, I, 3-5; Sir William Jone’s note on Afghan origin, *Asiatic Researches*, II, Article IV; Rose’s *Glossary*, III, 221-225, 213-219.

⁶ For the composition of the Muslim community compare Bernier, pp. 3, 48, 209; Monserrate, p. 83; Careri, Part iii, 256; Thevenot, Part iii, 15; De Laet, p. 80; Briggs’ *Firishta*, III, 400, 401, 446, 447; IV, 247; Peter Mundy, II, 305.

It would appear that the enumeration of the component parts of the Muslim community is not complete and arrangement is not exhaustive but only the groups mentioned above played the dominant role in the Muslim society of the day. Besides, we find that during the thirty-first year of Aurangzib’s reign (1687 A. D.) there was a huge influx of *Haidarabadis* or the Deccani Musalmans at the Imperial Court at Delhi, though they were not in good repute. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar’s translation, pp. 184, 233.

⁷ From Turan or Trans-Oxiana (Mawara-un-nahr). Trans-Oxiana, the country lying between Khwarizm on the west and the Oxus on the south from Badakhshan to the frontiers of Khwarizm. See Abul Feda (Reinaud), II, ii, 212 *et seq.* for a full account of the countries included under this name.

⁸ Vide Yaqut’s *Mushtarik*.

⁹ Tavernier, I, 92; Rose’s *Glossary*, II, 3, s. v. Afghan. Afghans are considered as aborigines in their country (Sir William Jone’s Works, V, 610, London, 1799); but Niamat Ullah in his *Makhzan-i-Afghana* (Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, I, 2 ff.) dwells upon the causes which led to the transmigration of the Afghans to the countries of Roh and Koh Sulaiman.

all over India, but these Hindustani Pathans were considered inferior to the *vilayati* Pathans of Roh¹⁰, their brethren in the hilly regions beyond the Indus and to the west of it¹¹; because, due to the constant association with the rest of the population of North India and the difference in climate they had undergone a change and were more rapidly Indianized than others¹².

Section 2. Characteristic Features of the Component Parts.

Iranis or Persians. The cultural link between India and Iran had been renewed with the advent of Islam¹³ to Hindustan. During the early period of Muslim conquest, the Turks and Afghans were the muscle; whereas the Persians supplied the brain of the Muslim ruling aristocracy of India. A century of ascendancy of the Buddhist Mongols in the Middle East since the rise of Chengiz Khan, drove a large number of Muslims to seek a safe home in Hindustan, whose capital of Delhi in

¹⁰ According to *Riazul-Muhabbat* Roh is the name of the country of the Afghans, extending on the west as far as Ilmen river, contiguous to Herat; in the north, as far as Qashqar; on the south, to the Barohi Balochistan; on the east, to Kashmir. Vide Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Part II, Annotations, p. 64.

¹¹ Manucci, II, 453.

¹² The Indian Afghans were unwilling to cross the Indus. *Tuzuk*, I, 66; *Iqbalnama* (Bib. Ind.), p. 45.

For the purposes of our study we are concerned with the Afghans who were domiciled in the Northern Parts of Hindustan alone and whenever the term Afghan or Pathan is used, it will stand for them.

¹³ A positivist, follower of Comte, Dr. J. H. Bridges, in an address delivered in 1879 on the subject of "Prayer and Work" observed: "The faith of the Musulman is concentrated in a single word, Islam; devotion, resignation of our own will to the supreme decree. That word was not limited by Mahommed to his own followers; it was used ungrudgingly of Judaic and Christian predecessors. There is no fitter word for the religion of the human race. If there is any one word in Western language which can translate it fully, it is the word religion itself; . . ." *Discourses on Positive Religion*, London, 1891, quoted from Sayyid Abdul Latif, *The Concept of Society in Islam*, p. 18.

the time of Sultan Iltutmish was a cosmopolitan Muslim city having a separate *mohalla* assigned to the emigrants from every Islamic country¹⁴. The Persian culture showed a greater vitality in the Middle East than even the Arab culture, if there was any such thing in Islam¹⁵. An analysis of the literary and cultural contributions of Islam to Medieval India on a racial basis would easily prove the Iranian predominance throughout. This was due to large influx of the Iranian middle class and intelligentsia to Hindustan since the beginning of the Muslim conquest. The Shias¹⁶ had an advantage in Hindustan, because the Muslims were fewer and the Shia-Sunni bitterness less keen in their new home. Only a narrow bigot like Sultan Firuz Tughlaq occasionally thought of penalising Shi-ism¹⁷. The regency of Bairam Khan in a Sunni Sultanate indicates a high water-mark of the Shia influence at Court. But this influence was not at the beginning aggressive and intolerable to the Sunnis, because in a Sunni country, the Shia could accommodate himself by *outward conformity* with the Sunni practice without incurring any sin if his *mental reservation* for Shiaism was genuine if not open¹⁸. Under the

¹⁴ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, text, I, 216.

¹⁵ Compare Andre' Servier, *Islam and the Psychology of the Musalmans*, p. 9.

¹⁶ The Persians were Shias. Shia literally means "a troop, a party". See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v.

¹⁷ *Fatuhah-i-Firuz Shahi* (Elliot and Dowson), III, 377, 378; *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, fol. 63a.

¹⁸ *Taqiyyah* ('fear', 'caution', or 'pious subterfuge'). Whenever the Shias are in a minority they practice, if necessary, *taqiyyah*, i.e., they act as though they were Sunnis. A Shia may even vilify his own sect, if his personal safety requires it. The justification for it, is sought in a passage from the Quran (ch. iii : 27). It was used as a weapon by the Shi-ites in their constant propaganda against the Umayyads. It consists in the use of words with a *double meaning* or in *mental reservation*. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v. Tavernier observes: "It is true that although they (i.e. Persians) regarded the Sunnis with horror they nevertheless follow, in outward show, the religion of the Monarch, believing that to make or secure their fortune they might conceal their true belief, and that it sufficed for them to cherish it in their hearts". Vol. II, 176.

Mughal empire, the Shias could be trusted in any position except in fighting against Persia¹⁹.

The Persians were fortune-hunters, who had accompanied the ranks of Babur and his successors²⁰ in large numbers, and their successes at the Mughal Court had induced many others to follow in their foot-steps²¹. Their ability and fidelity had recommended them to the highest posts of trust and importance, and, though lesser in number than Turani people, "were in possession of the most important offices in the kingdom, and exercised the largest share of influence at the Court of the Mogol"²². They had physicians, poets, lawyers, soldiers and other professional classes in their ranks. They professed the Shia form of Islam and were strongly attached to it; but being in minority and by virtue of serving the State which strictly adhered to the Sunni sect, the rival of Shiaism, they often played hypocrites to please their masters²³. Though the Persians, great or small, serving the Mughal Empire with greatest skill and faithfulness, always tried and entertained "a vain and overweening desire to exalt their nation"²⁴, and owed allegiance to their natural king, the Shah of Persia²⁵. They were

¹⁹ Lahauri, *Badshahnama* (Bib. Ind.), II, 563.

²⁰ Humayun came somewhat under the Shia influence. On his return from Persia, the Persians followed in his train in large numbers. This was resented by the orthodox section of his followers. Badauni (Bib. Ind.), I, 468.

²¹ Roe and Fryer, p. 179. ²² Bernier, p. 9; Tavernier, II, 177.

²³ "... and they (i.e. Persians) themselves to please the King (i.e. Aurangzib) and advance their own fortunes, made no scruple about conforming themselves externally to the cult and customs of the Sunnis". Ibid, II, 177.

²⁴ Bernier, p. 146.

²⁵ See Ibid, pp. 146-153 for the attitude of the Persians in India when an Embassy from Persia visited the court of Shahjahan. They spread false rumours and invented anecdotes giving credit to the Shah of Persia and his subjects. Also compare Manucci, II, 50-53; according to him the Persians always favoured their nation in the Empire of the Great Mughal and displayed a sort of clannishness which prevented themselves from merging with the other classes of people (Vol. II, 177).

most doubted when engaged against the ruler of Iran²⁶ and the suspicion came to be true on more than one occasion²⁷.

Among the sons of Shahjahan, Shah Shuja favoured the Shias most. Upon them he relied in the pre-ordained fight for the *masnad* of Delhi against the Sunni champion, Aurangzib. He invited a large number of Shias from Iran and took them with him to Bengal. There in the capital city of Dacca he settled them in such a large number that Dacca during his viceroyalty became veritably a Shia city²⁸. Aurangzib's first viceroy of Bengal, Mir Jumla, was a Shia²⁹. Nawab Ali Vardi Khan and his family were also Shias³⁰. The result was that there arose a second Lucknow in Bengal, namely, the city of Dacca, if judged by the number, influence and importance of Shia emigrants³¹. Though in its last gasp, Shiaism is still professed there openly by the descendants of ancient families³².

When no political objective was to be gained, for example, the conciliation of Mir Jumla, Aurangzib heartily hated the Shias on the

²⁶ Bernier, p. 185.

²⁷ One of the main reasons for the failure of Qandahar expeditions for its reduction which was attempted thrice during the reign of Shahjahan, was the lack of co-operation among the Persian contingent and officers, who had a secret sympathy with the Shah of Persia. Bernier writes about the first siege of Qandahar: "The first failure was owing to the bad conduct or perfidy of the Persian Omrahs in the Great Mogol's service, the most powerful noblemen of his court, and strongly attached to their native country. They betrayed a *shameful lukewarmness* (Italics mine) during the siege refusing to follow the Raja Roup who had already planted his standard on the wall nearest the mountains". p. 184.

²⁸ Vide *Tarikh-i-shah shujai* (Muhammad Masum), Bankipur MS.

²⁹ He is responsible for building numerous buildings in East Bengal. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (Bib. Ind.), text, p. 368.

³⁰ *Siyar*, text, II, III, *et passim*.

³¹ Lucknow is the seat of Shiaism till today.

³² A recent publication, *Asudgan-i-Dacca*, by Hakim Habib-ur-Rahman Khan of Dacca, gives a good account of Shia *mohallas*, *Imambaras*, and *Husaini Dalan* of Dacca.

ground of their schism and styled them as heretics (*Rafizis*)³³, corpse-eating demons (*ghul-i-bayabani*), and misbelievers (*batil mazhaban*)³⁴. But he was not slow to recognize merit, as he expressly declared: "What connections have earthly affairs with religion, and what right have administrative works to meddle with bigotry? For you is your religion and for me is mine.... Wise men disapprove of the removal of able officers from office",³⁵ though his uncompromising partiality for the orthodox Islam acted as a barrier in giving fair play to his judgement. He has bequeathed to the posterity an estimate of the Persians as a legacy which affords a real insight into their character. While comparing the Irani and Turani people he says, "The 'Turani people,... who are brethren from the same city as that of my ancestors,—according to the saying 'Don't throw yourself into destruction with your own hands';—do not think it a shame to retreat in the very thick of the battle.... The Persians, whether born in Vilayat (*i.e.* Persia) or in Hindustan..., are a hundred stages removed from this sort of movement"³⁶. At another place he remarked: "Without (being charged with) prejudice and enmity, we may say that as the Sun is the guardian planet of the Persians, the intellectual keenness of those men in quickness of perception

³³ From *Rafz*; literally meaning "forsaking". The term *Rafizi* was originally applied to the Shias who joined Zaid Ibn Ali but forsook him upon his refusing to curse Abu Bakr and 'Umar, the first two Khalifas; but it came afterwards to denote any sect of Shias. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. *Rafizi*.

³⁴ For Aurangzib's hatred and aversion towards the Shias see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar's translation, p. 190. In one of his letters he quotes with admiration the story of a Sunni who escaped to Turkey after murdering a Shia at Isfahan, and draws from it the moral, "Whoever acts for truth and speaks up for truth, is befriended by the True God". In another letter he tells us how he liked the naming of a dagger as the "Shia-slayer" (*Rafizikush*), and ordered some more of the same name to be made for him. Vide Jadunath Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, p. 15.

³⁵ *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, No. 39, p. 99; text, p. 43.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

and foresight is four times as great as that of the Indians³⁷, whose tutelary planet is Saturn. Their only defect is that by reason of conjunction with Venus, they have grown ease-loving,...that you should be on your guard against the great cunning of the Persians and never submit to their (seemingly) overtures, as that would only prove your lack of sagacity"³⁸.

Therefore, we may conclude, that the Persians were valiant men³⁹ and always true to the salt of their master except when the interest of the Indian Empire collided with that of Persia, the land of their ancestors. The social position and the cultural hegemony of the Persians in India was most significant. They formed the cream of the Muslim society and were the life and light of the Musalman community. They hailed from a country which was the seat of culture, learning, fashion and polished manners, and they were respected as the masters of social decorum in all Asia.

Turanis. The Turani people belonged to the ancestral home of the reigning dynasty. They were Turko-Mongol by race, Sunni by creed, the state religion of Mughal India, and were "more to be commended for their valour than beauty ; a square, stout, strong people, having platter faces, and flat noses. . . ."⁴⁰ Owing to the favour and patronage of the reigning dynasty and being in majority as compared with the other foreign immigrants, who had settled in Hindustan, they formed

³⁷ But the Persians born in India were noted for their gross stupidity. Ibid, p. 100. For Persian quickness of wit see Badauni (Haig), III, 393; Manucci, IV, 259, 260.

³⁸ *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, No. 52, p. 118; text, p. 56.

³⁹ Edward Terry observes, "There are of both these (i.e. Tartars and Persians) many daring, stout, hardy, and valiant men. For the Persians, there are of them many comely persons, not so swarthy as those of East India". p. 121.

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 122. Terry evidently confuses Mongols with Turks, who could not have flat noses. But his statement is corroborated by Alberuni (Elliot and Dowson), I, 57 and Bernier, p. 404. For a fuller description of the Turani people see Gustave Le Bon, trans. as *Tamaddun-i-Hind* by Syed Ali Bilgrami, pp. 308, 309.

the most dominant part of the population, and the great ability, military as well as civil, of some of them, made them a very influential class both in the army and the State.

Aurangzib, in his last will and testament, with his keen insight into the character of the people over whom he ruled, says of them: "The Turani people have ever been soldiers. They are very expert in making charges, raids, night attacks and arrests. They feel no suspicion, despair or shame when commanded to make a retreat in the very midst of a fight, ... and they are a hundred stages remote from the crass stupidity of the Hindustanis, who part with their heads but not leave their positions (in battle). In every way, you should confer favours on this race, because on many occasions these men can do the necessary service, when no other race can"⁴¹.

They were generally good natured, discreet, civil, obliging and full of compliance⁴². They had great confidence in their ability to do anything, no matter how difficult or complex, though it was not always the case when put to the test⁴³.

Afghans. The sturdy and fighting race of the Afghans had once held sway over Hindustan and though their period was short but glorious, and though forming only a chapter in the dazzling pages of the history of the long line of Timur, has got its own worth. It was because that even the menials and water-carriers coming from this stock were high-spirited and war-like⁴⁴. They always entertained a vain hope to become the masters of this country again—an aspiration which was dearest to their hearts, a dream which was destined never to be fulfilled.

⁴¹ Vide Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 265, 266.

⁴² Mandelslo, p. 65; *Tuzuk*, I, 27.

⁴³ It passed into a proverb, "*Digar ba-khud manaz ke Turki tamam shud*" (Don't brag again; as your Turkship has ended, i. e., your boast has failed). *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar's translation, pp. 212, 213.

⁴⁴ "The Afghans, a race naturally brave and determined, who breathed nothing but conquests and new establishments,..." *Siyar*, trans., III, 235.

The usual saying of a Pathan when he wanted to impress his truthfulness was: "If it be not so, may I never ascend the throne of Delhi"⁴⁵. The relations between Mughals and Afghans were not friendly. The Afghans had a deep-seated hatred for the Mughals, and it was only the yoke of subjection which had reconciled them to the domination of the latter, and the passage of time had partly healed the wounds⁴⁶.

The Afghans, as compared with the Mughals⁴⁷, were known, besides their dare-devil courage and bigotry, more for their general rusticity, illiteracy, bragging and ill-temper rather than for culture, learning, taste and decency⁴⁸. They mainly inhabited the part of the country in the vicinity of the Ganges in Bihar and Bengal⁴⁹. The Pathan was an obstinate soldier; it was said of them that "they never draw their swords, but blood must flow"⁵⁰. They shared in common with the Rajputs the habit of taking opium or other intoxicating drugs before a battle to embark upon any enterprise with a raging resolution to die or be victorious⁵¹.

⁴⁵ Bernier, p. 207. The war between the Mughal and the Pathan over the *Masnad* of Delhi passed into a popular game known as *Mughal-Pathan*, and is still played alike by boys and old men in the country-side particularly in Bihar and Bengal.

⁴⁶ Compare *Tuzuk*, I, 207, 208.

⁴⁷ Both Irani and Turani, see *infra*.

⁴⁸ Babur says, "The people of Hindustan, and particularly the Afghans, are a strangely foolish and senseless race, possessed of little reflection, and less foresight". *Baburnama*, trans. Beveridge, II, 156. Mandelslo states that the Afghans are "a sort of self-conceited, insolent, cruel, and barbarous people. They sleight (slight) others, for no other reason, then (than) that they are not so rash as themselves in hazarding their lives without any necessity". p. 65. Edward Terry says, "These (i. e. Afghans) will look an enemy boldly in the face, and maintain with their lives their reputation and valour". p. 151.

⁴⁹ Bernier, p. 206; Careri, Part III, p. 251; Terry, p. 151.

⁵⁰ Roe and Fryer, p. 285.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 445. For the Rajput habit of taking intoxicating drugs before a battle see Bernier, p. 39.

The Afghans were mostly Sunnis⁵². Though some of them had shown an aptitude for the civil administration but as a rule they were too rough for civil life. The most peculiar trait of Afghan character was their boastfulness and vanity. They were extremely pretentious, "each one thinking himself greater than the rest, and decline to concede to others any superiority⁵³.

Hindustani Musalmans. Under this class, we may include, two types of people : One, whose ancestors had, as a result of the steady flow of foreign immigration, poured down upon the Indian soil and made it their new home; and the second, Hindu converts to Islam who were called Nau-Muslims. The former had inter-married with the Indian

⁵² Elphinstone, *An Account of Caubul*, I, 262, 276. But Manucci says that the Afghans were not uniform in their belief; some followed the Shia sect and others were professed Sunnis. Vol. II, 454. There are some Shias among the Afghans even today.

⁵³ Manucci, II, 453. Perhaps there is an over-drawn picture of the Afghan character in the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin*. The author was a childish Shia and strongly attached to the family of Ali Vardi Khan. The Afghan hostility towards the latter in Bengal may account for this. He says, "It is observable, that these people (i. e. Afghans) in consequence of their numbers and their little sense and understanding, as well as their way of life in caverns of their mountainous country, very much resembled the savage beasts. They are like them swift-footed, exceedingly courageous, and attracted by little, and highly covetous. Unmoved by the rights of gratitude, and unaffected by benefits received, they pay little attention to their benefactor, and even to the rights of friendship, and full as little to the duties of a community of bread and salt. . . . Unpolished and coarse-behaved, and nearly incapable of any civilization, they are strangers to the softer and more generous sentiments of humanity . . . and become furious and ungovernable in their revenges". English translation, I, 437, 438; also see Vol. I, 139. Compare with this Elphinstone's character-sketch of the Afghans of Kabul. He says, "To sum up the character of the Afghans (Afghans) in a few words; their vices are revenge, envy, avarice, rapacity, and obstinacy; on the other hand, they are fond of liberty, faithful to their friends, kind to their dependents, hospitable, brave, hardy, frugal, laborious, and prudent; and they are less disposed than the nations in their neighbourhood to false-hood, intrigue and deceit". Vol. I, 330.

people and had become Hindustanis in the real sense and they always took the Indian side in most of the affairs of life and administration. These two classes of people were least distinguishable and they comprised, what may be called, Muslim masses.

The Nau-Muslims, who were tempted out from the stock of Hindu society or forcibly converted, did not materially alter their outlook and social position, though some advance was made in many other respects⁵⁴. But the creed of the Prophet did not attain that success in India which had been achieved in Egypt, Persia and Byzantina. The change of religion did not change their environments and atmosphere, which was permeated through and through with social isolation, superstitious ideas and caste restrictions⁵⁵. Many Muslim converts of Rajput

⁵⁴ There were three types of conversion to Islam in India. First, *voluntary*, and it was the result of *tabligh* (preaching) of the Muslim missionaries in which Muslim saints played a conspicuous part. See Badauni (Haig), III, 57, though his estimate is somewhat exaggerated. Also see T. W. Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*. Second, when Hindus embraced Islam in the hope of worldly gains. During Aurangzib's reign the slogan was "Qanungoship for becoming a Muslim." The new converts were paraded through the main streets of the capital on elephants well equipped and fully adorned. Vide *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign* Third, *forcible*; it should be noted that these forcibly converted Hindus returned to Hinduism whenever they got a chance. Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 487.

⁵⁵ Jahangir says, "The people of this country (Rajaur in Kashmir) were in old times Hindus, and the land-lords are called Rajas. Sultan Firuz Tughlaq made them Muhammadans, but they are still called Rajas. They still have the marks of the times of ignorance. One of these is that just as some Hindu women burn themselves along with their husbands' (bodies), so these women (the Rajaur women) are put into the grave along with their (dead) husbands. I heard that recently they put alive into the grave a girl of ten or twelve along with her (dead) husband, who was of the same age. Also, when a daughter is born to a man without means, they put her to death by strangulation. They ally themselves with Hindus, and both give and take girls.... I gave an order that hereafter they should not do such things, and whoever was guilty of them, should be capitally punished." *Tuzuk*, II, 180, 181. But it appears that Jahangir's order met with little success as the same things continued

descent took care to append the designation of their original clan to their personal names⁵⁶ though all the converts to the fold of Islam were usually styled with the honorific title of Shaikh⁵⁷.

during the reign of Shahjahan as well and he issued strict orders against it. *Badshahnama* (Bib. Ind.), I, Part II, p. 57. Also compare Gustave Le Bon, *Tamaddun-i-Hind*, trans. Syed Ali Bilgrami, pp. 84, 85.

⁵⁶ For example, Hasan Khan *Bachgoti* (Badauni, text, II, 25; Lowe's trans., p. 18; *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (Elliot and Dowson), V, 582; for Bachgoti tribe see Elliot, *Races of N. W. Provinces*, I, 47). Sulaiman Khan *Panwar* (*Akbarnama*, text, III, 140; trans., pp. 193, 198); Sher Khan *Tunwar* (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, I, 120, 193).

⁵⁷ Roe and Fryer, p. 279. *Shaikh* is an Arabic word meaning an elder or chief, and probably corresponds very closely among the tribes of Arabia with *Chaudhuri* among those of the Punjab. Thus the title should properly be confined to, and is very generally assumed by, tribes of the true Arab descent. But it has been degraded to a much more vulgar use. If a Rajput or Jat turn Muslim he retains his caste name, and is still a Rajput or Jat; though Sir Denzil Ibbetson had known Musalman Rajputs who had fallen in life and taken to weaving call themselves Shaikh, though still recognised as relations by their brethren of the village whence they came. So if an outcaste or a man of impure calling becomes Musalman and retains his occupation, or at least substitutes for it another only slightly less degrading, he also retains his caste name or is known by an entirely new one, such as *Dindar* or *Musalli*. But the class which lies between these two extremes, and are neither so proud of their origin as to wish, nor so degraded by their occupation as to be compelled, to retain their original caste name, very generally abandon that name on their conversion to Islam and adopt the title of *Shaikh*. There is a Persian proverb: 'The first year I was a weaver (*Julaha*); the next year a Shaikh. This year if prices rise I shall be a Sayyid'. Rose's *Glossary*, III, 399. In fact these designations were arbitrarily adopted by the Muslims according to their status and social position. Badauni says that anybody who had no descent whatever to boast of claimed connection with the Quraish (the Arabian tribe to which Muhammad belonged), and designated himself as a *Quraishi*. (Badauni, Haig's trans., III, 398, 399). Manucci mentions a class of people called Shaikhzadas, "who are descended from the family of Muhammad, but very remote from the Sayyids. This race hold land, and also remain in service at the Courts, great and petty; they are very

The Hindustani Musalmans differed much in their habits, customs and manners from other Muslim groups⁵⁸. Almost all of them were Sunnis⁵⁹. They were a rustic sort of people, and covetous and not so very ingenious and crafty as Afghans or Mughals⁶⁰.

A brief reference to the Sayyids of Barha, who also fall in this group, will not be out of place, in so much that they regarded themselves as Indians and had become such in every sense of the term. They had no foreign sympathies and looked askance at fresh arrivals from Iran and Turan, whom they regarded as foreigners. Their predecessors had entered this country simultaneously with the conquest of Islam and had become naturalized citizens of India⁶¹. They derived their name from a place being a collection of twelve villages, in modern district of Muzaffanagar which was their ancestral home and chief stronghold⁶², though they spread in isolated groups all over the country⁶³.

subtil, of great intelligence, very litigious, and great lawyers. Others become recluses and holy men, and by that false pretence gain a living". Vol. II, 454.

⁵⁸ Mandelslo, p. 62.

⁵⁹ "His Majesty (Akbar) once ordered that the Sunnis should stand separately from the Shias, when the Hindustanis, without exception, went to the Sunni side, and the Persians to the Shia side". Badauni (Lowe), II, 337.

⁶⁰ Mandelslo, p. 65.

⁶¹ The true Sayyids are the descendants of Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, and, strictly speaking, the word includes only those descended from him by Fatima, Muhammad's daughter. But there are Ulavi Sayyids, who are said to be descended through other wives. The origin of the Barha Sayyids is assigned to the Sayyid Abul Farah Wasiti, son of Sayyid Daud or Sayyid Husain, who came to Ghazni in 389 A.H. He had four sons who settled in Chhat-Banur (now in Patiala), and other villages in that part. These four sons found as many clans, viz., Chhatrodi, Kondliwal, Thhenpuri, Jainori—from the names of the village assigned to each. For further details, their division and distribution and local nicknames see Rose's *Glossary*, III, 390-394.

⁶² *Tuzuk*, II, 269.

⁶³ Munucci, II, 454.

The Muslims have been very extravagant in showing regard and veneration to the descendants of the Prophet, rather it has formed a part of their belief itself⁶⁴. The Sayyids, entitled only for religious offices, indulged in politics and gave a short-lived dynasty to Delhi. But the loss of power did not affect their social status and religious sanctity. In the seventeenth century they formed a powerful clique and played a decisive role in the politics of the country⁶⁵, and a century later they

⁶⁴ It was regarded a sin to hurt a Sayyid (*Baharistan*, I, 425). The Sayyids were exempted from making the customary rites of salutation (*Ibid*, II, 476). Bidar Bakht (son of Aurangzib) one day told his wife (a Sayyid girl) that "the daughter of a rascal (*paji*) ought not to show such pride to princes". Aurangzib wrote to Bidar Bakht, "To apply the term *paji* to the Sayyids is to act like a *paji*. If a Sayyid is called a *paji*, it will not make him *paji*. If I do not learn from the letters of the Mahaldar and Nazir that you have made up with the Sayyid girl, you will meet with rebuke, nay more, with punishment". *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 80, 81. As a test of a genuine Sayyid it was generally believed that they could walk over fire without burning even a hair of their body. Badauni (*Bib. Ind.*), I, 171 ; III, Haig's trans., p. 96.

⁶⁵ The Sayyids of Barha served undar Akbar with great fidelity. See *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), III, 225, 244; Badauni (Lowe), II, 237. They supported the cause of Jahangir and fought for him against Khusrau. Jahangir says, "Some people make remark about their (Sayyids of Barha's) lineage, but their bravery is a convincing proof of their being Sayyids, for there has never been a battle in this reign in which they have not been conspicuous, and in which some have not been killed. Mirza Aziz Koka always said the Sayyids of Barha were the averters of calamity from this dominion, and such is in reality the case". *Tuzuk*, II, 269. During the war of succession among the sons of Shahjahan, the Sayyids of Barha stood by the side of Dara Shukoh and Prince Shuja against Aurangzib. Aurangzib looked with suspicion and always kept a close watch over the Sayyids of Barha, though he showed all the respect to this class of people. In his will (Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 266) he instructs his sons: "You should treat the Sayyids of Barha, who are worthy of blessings, according to the Quranic verse, 'Give unto the near relations (of the Prophet) their dues', and never grow slack in honouring and favouring them. . . . But you should be extremely cautious in dealing with the Sayyids of Barha. Be not wanting

became virtual rulers and '*de facto*' sovereigns when they began to make and unmake emperors⁶⁶. They had developed a sort of common brotherhood among themselves and took up the cause of every individual as an insult to the whole group and an infringement of the rights of the Sayyids in general⁶⁷. Only a Sayyid was considered eligible to murder

in love for them at heart, but externally do not increase their rank, because a strong partner in the government soon wants to seize the kingship for himself. If you let them take the reins ever so little, the result 'will be your own disgrace'. At another place he remarked, "True, love for the high ranked Sayyids is a part of our faith, nay more, it is the very essence of spiritual knowledge; and enmity to this tribe is the cause of entry into hell-fire and of (incurring) the anger of God. . . . To relax the reins to the Sayyids of Barha is to bring on final ruin, *i.e.*, a bad end; because these people on getting the least prosperity and promotion boast 'There is none like me', stray from the path of right conduct, cherish high views, and cause impediments" *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, No. 32, text, p. 36; trans., p. 88.

⁶⁶ The two "Sayyid Brothers" of Barha, viz., Sayyid Hasan Ali Khan, who afterwards became Qutb-ul-Mulk Abdullah Khan and the Wazir of Farrukh-Siyar, and Sayyid Husain Ali Khan, were known as "King-makers". They helped Farrukh-Siyar in the war of succession after the death of Aurangzib and got him seated on the throne of Delhi. They subsequently fell with him and got him imprisoned and killed. Muhammad Shah owed his accession on the imperial *masnad* to their help. The Sayyid Brothers, to the detriment of the State and to their own disgrace, made the Imperial throne of Delhi a football for their own ambitions. See *Siyar*, text, I & II, *passim*. Sayyid Hasan Ali used to boast: "Upon whomsoever falls the shadow of my slippers becomes as great as Alamgir!" Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, 101.

⁶⁷ During the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Aurangzib (1694 A.D.), Amanullah, a trusted servant of Shah Alijah fatally stabbed a Sayyid of Barha, who was a mansabdar. The other Sayyids in a body went to the residence of Amanullah whose supporters also came out to meet them. The matter was reported to Aurangzib who asked them to go to the Chief Qazi, and the Sayyids had the courage to disobey the orders of the Emperor and say, "We won't go to the Qazi, we shall settle the matter with our enemies". However, they dispersed when the Emperor personally intervened into the matter. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (Sarkar), pp. 221, 222. A similar incident took place in the Deccan

a Sayyid⁶⁸.

The Sayyids of Barha were famous throughout the country for their obstinate valour and love of fight, and to them belonged as their birth-right the privilege to lead the van of the imperial forces on the battle-field⁶⁹. Religious fervour and a heroic air were the distinguishing features of this tribe. Many of these Barha Sayyids for their services to the State were awarded the coveted title of "Khan", which in course of time very often obliterated all traces of their being Sayyids⁷⁰.

Section 3. Relations among Various Sections of the Muslims.

Superiority Complex of the Foreigners. The term "Mughal" was the common epithet which denoted all the foreign element in the Muslim population of Hindustan. Originally it stood for the house of Timur and their followers. But the conception had changed with the passage of time. Bernier says, "To be considered a Mogol, it is enough if a foreigner have a white face and profess Mohametanism", such as

during the eighteenth year of Jahangir's reign between the Sayyids of Barha and the Rajputs. See *Tuzuk*, II, 283, 284.

⁶⁸ Compare *Baharistan*, I, 425.

⁶⁹ *Tuzuk*, I, 64.

⁷⁰ For example, Sayyid Ali Asghar, son of Sayyid Mahmud of Barha, received the title of 'Saif Khan' under Jahangir. His nephew Sayyid Jafar received the title of 'Shuja'at Khan', Sayyid Jafar's nephew, Sayyid Sultan, received the title of 'Salabat Khan' alias 'Ikhtisas Khan'. The latter's cousin, Sayyid Muzaffar, received the title of 'Himmat Khan'. Again Sayyid Abdul Wahhab received the title of 'Dilir Khan', whilst Sayyid Khan Jahan-i-Shahjahani's son Sayyid Sher Zaman, received the title of 'Muzaffar Khan'; another son Sayyid Munawwar, received the title of 'Lashkar Khan', whilst his grandson, Sayyid Firuz, received the title of 'Ikhtisas Khan'. Again Sayyid Qasim flourished under the title of 'Shahamat Khan' in Aurangzib's reign, whilst his nephew, Sayyid Nusrat, held the title of 'Yar Khan' under Muhammad Shah. See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, *sub vocibus*.

Only these four groups of the Muslim community, viz., Irani, Turani, Afghans and Hindustani Musalmans have been given special treatment

Persians, Turks, Arabs and Uzbeks⁷¹. The Mughal in later times meant even the Afghans from Qandahar, e. g., Ahmad Shah Abdali's soldiers, who were to the Marathas *Vilayati* Mughals⁷².

The foreigners, because they had stood by the side of leaders like Timur and Babur, because they set up the norm of the Muslim society of the day, and because they belonged to the reigning dynasty, in some form or the other, scrupulously maintained an overweening sense of superiority, and "prided themselves to be called Whites... in scorn of the Indians, who are Blacks"⁷³. A general aloofness in the Muslim society between the Indian-born Musalmans, whose forefathers had entered the country several centuries back and had made it their homeland and the Hindu converts who had embraced Islam, on the one hand, and the fresh blood which was infused in the veins of the Muslim community on the other, was strikingly apparent. But all the same the foreign ruling and privileged classes of non-Indian extraction received

as only they played the dominant role in the contemporary Muslim society.

⁷¹ Bernier, pp. 3, 48.

⁷² Vide *Bhao sahib-chi Bakhar*. The contemporary observers were puzzled by the term "Mughal", and were led to assign fanciful meanings to it. Joseph Salbank, an East India factor who resided for many years in the country during the reign of Jahangir, says, "but now the word (Mogol) extendeth itself farther, for by the same is understood as well the Persian and Turk as the Tartar, yea, very often they call Christians Mogols also". *Letters Received by the East India Company*, ed. William Foster, VI, 184. Sir Thomas Roe says that the term meant 'circumcised', that is, it was applicable to all Muslims. *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, ed. Foster, p. 312. Others simply give 'white' as the signification of the term. "The word Mogoll in their language", writes Coverte, "is as much as to say the great White King". *A True and Almost Incredible Report*, London, 1612, p. 39. Also see Ovington, p. 167; Roe and Fryer, p. 279; Mandelslo, p. 63. Original meaning of the word for a Mongol of the home country was *badzat* (rascal) as used by outlandish Mongols who were called half-breds (*Qarauna*) by a pure Mongol. See *Introduction* by N. Ellias to *History of the Mongols*.

⁷³ Roe and Fryer, p. 447.

more than their due share of honour and respect and were allowed the highest claims to social distinction. The people had taken a fancy to discover arbitrary foreign ancestry for themselves. The assertion of Bernier when he says,—“nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogol, selects wives or concubines (from Kashmir), that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mogols”,—betrays a morbid sense of inferiority suffered by the Musalmans of Indian origin⁷⁴.

Jealousies and Antipathies. The jealousies and rivalries between the different groups of the Musalman community form an interesting study, which were manifested in diverse shades. The fundamental and root causes were three-fold : origin, sectarian differences, and self-interest.

Persia and Trans-Oxiana did not signify only two countries, but two types of people differing in race and creed. The rivalry between Iran and Turan was of a long standing nature. When the representatives of these two countries came to India, they brought with themselves the feelings of hatred and animosity⁷⁵. Here, in India the climax was reached when the reigning sovereigns played one against the other, in order to ensure the stability of the empire and not to allow either of them to grow so powerful as to become a menace to the throne itself or they might play only a tool in their hands⁷⁶. But after the death of Aurangzib when the emperor ceased to function as the controlling and unifying centre, the faction-politics received a further impetus dictated

⁷⁴ Bernier, p. 404. The Indians in general suffered from an inferiority complex and anything foreign was looked upon with respect, awe and admiration. A foreign army, or an army composed of foreigners usually had great chances of success as it had a shattering effect on the morale of the Indians. *Siyar*, trans., III, 260, 261.

⁷⁵ For religious belief and antagonism of interest see Monserrate, pp. 164, 165.

⁷⁶ For example, Aurangzib to counter-act the pre-eminence of Asad Khan and Zulfiqar Khan, the Irani nobles, began to promote the nobles of the Turani party. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (Sarkar), pp. 214-216. Even Muhammad Shah resorted to this tactics and benefitted by it for the time being. *Siyar*, trans., I, 249.

by the instinct of self-preservation. And the history of the later Mughals from 1739 onwards is only the history of the political duel between these parties⁷⁷.

The Afghans, who regarded the Mughals as usurpers, and by reason of the fact that they were discarded almost as a rule from high offices in the state, both civil and military⁷⁸, boiled within themselves at the loss of their prestige and office. The Hindustani Musalmans had submitted themselves to their fate, though no less murmuring and groaning at being inferior in status. Sometimes the Iranis and Turanis joined hands against the Indians but as a rule they were at daggers drawn when left to themselves.

There was another peculiar feature, rather a besetting sin, in the Muslim upper classes. In the Mughal Empire all the honour and property of the high officials and nobles was personal⁷⁹. At no other

⁷⁷ *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 60. *Siyar*, *passim*.

⁷⁸ See *Infra*.

⁷⁹ The system of Escheat, i.e., confiscation of the property of a deceased person to the State was generally in vogue in Medieval India. Manucci says, "It was one of Jahangir's law that the crown was heir to the wealth and houses of his servants when they died, also to those of his vassals who died childless". Vol. I, 177. Captain Hawkins remarked in 1608: "The custom of this Mughal Emperor is to take possession of his noblemen's treasure when they die, and to bestow on their children what he pleaseth; . . ." Purchas, III, 34. Bernier regards this custom as barbarous "The barbarous and ancient custom obtains in this country, of the king's constituting himself sole heir of the property of those who die in his service". p. 163. Elsewhere he remarks, "The Great Mogol constitutes himself heir of all the Omarahs, or lords, and likewise of the mansabdars, or inferior lords, who are in his pay". p. 204. Also see *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Eng. trans., II, 232. Aurangzib abolished this custom (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 316; *Mirat-i-Alam*, Elliot and Dowson, VII, 161), though it was again enforced and Muhammad Shah had to abolish it again. *Siyar*, trans., I, 206. The author of the *Siyar* condemns it vehemently: "But indeed, it was such a custom, and such a law, as no man, no religion, and no justice could approve or admit". But the vassal kings and Hindu Rajas and Zamindars were exceptions to the general rule of escheat.

time than in the medieval ages the race for individual glorification was so contested. Each man tried to trample down his equals and contemporaries and advance himself, at any cost, as near the Royal Canopy as possible, and the promotion or supersession of one against the other was a sufficient cause to foster the feelings of bitterness against him. It is curious to note that in their zeal for personal advancement the interest of the state suffered, but they were the last men to take notice of this⁸⁰. Envy and a passion for individual distinction, as opposed to comradeship and devotion to a common cause, were undoubtedly the driving forces in every department of life⁸¹.

Apart from other considerations, the division of the Muslim community into two main groups, *i. e.*, Shia and Sunni purely on the basis of religion, was another painful feature⁸². The relations were bitter and sharp and pervaded all the ranks of the Muslim society alike⁸³. The Shias revile the first three Khalifs of Islam⁸⁴ and regard only

⁸⁰ Manucci says, "Nothing can be more surprising than the way things go on in the Mogul Empire. The king, the princes, the governors, and the generals have each their own line of policy, calculated for securing success to their own designs. . . . Down to the very smallest officer there is not one who is not a past master in the art of enriching himself prodigiously. They flinch from nothing in their pursuit of wealth; they ignore even the loyalty due to their sovereign". Vol. III, 270. The author of *Siyar* says, "... small objects by a set of traitorous grandees, who intent only on ruining each other, made no account of the consequences, if they could not but compass their private ends. Nor did they make any scruples, when necessary for their purpose, to shed the blood of Musalman, and to slaughter a whole race of Sayyids". *Siyar*, trans., I, 295. Also see Bernier, p. 65; Manucci, II, 317; Tavernier, I, 343.

⁸¹ The instances of jealousies and rivalries and the selfishness of the Muslim nobles are so numerous that they hardly need any particular mention.

⁸² Bernier, p. 8; Tavernier, II, 175.

⁸³ If a Muslim family happened to be divided in belief, they could not withhold their tongue from cursing each other. See Badauni (Haig), III, 404, 474n; Vol. II, text, p. 317.

⁸⁴ Reviling of the *Sahabah*, the companions of the Prophet, is called

'Ali as the *'de jure'* khalifa whose claims were superseded by his predecessors⁸⁵. It occasioned a lot of bickering and the mutual reviling⁸⁶. The Shias were regarded worse than idolators by the Sunnis and *vice versa* ⁸⁷. The questions of material interest were coloured into theological disputes and the individual exchanges took the shape of mob rioting, and only an armed truce was maintained due to the interference of the State⁸⁸.

"*tabarra*". See Ranking's valuable note on *tabarra* in his translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Badauni. Badauni (Ranking), I, 576, 577, and note 5. The custom of reviling of the first three Khalifs was fairly common in India. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (Sarkar), p. 74; Badauni (Haig), III, 438; II, Lowe, 214, 248, 267. The history of the Deccan presents an interesting instance of Shia-Sunni bitterness where, specially during Adil Shahi regime, persons were employed to utter curses on the *Sahabah*. See Briggs' *Firishta*, III, 117, 157, 169, 228.

⁸⁵ See *Infra*.

⁸⁶ See *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), III, 803-805; Badauni (Lowe), II, 376; III (Haig), 235-236. When Khan Jahan, who was a Persian and a Shia, was appointed to the government of Bengal, the Bengal officers, who were mostly Sunnis, objected to the headship of a Shia. *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), III, 226, 228, 230, 250. The relations gradually degenerated under the later Mughals. See *Siyar*, trans., I, 77-81. It was thought that the deads, if they happened to belong to the opposite sects, could not live in peace in their graves if buried side by side. During the reign of Akbar a Shia was buried in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Amir Khusrau. Sunni Ulema objected to it and represented to His Majesty that Amir Khusrau was a native of India, and a Sunni and hence, he would be very much annoyed by the company of a Shia in the grave. The Emperor gave orders that the Shia's body should be removed from there and should be buried somewhere else. Badauni (Lowe), II, 101, 102.

⁸⁷ *Dabistan* (Shea and Troyer), II, 348, 349, 364.

⁸⁸ Kashmir was the hot-bed of Shia-Sunni conflict, and the mob-rioting were frequent. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarret), II, 352; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 517; *Akbarnama* (Beveridge), III, 763; Badauni (Lowe), II, 128, 365. For further details of religious hostility between the rival sects and the Civil War (1684 A.D.) in Kashmir see Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 416, 417, 421-423. Also see *Siyar*, trans., I, 77-81, for the Shia-Sunni trouble at the capital during the time of Later Mughals.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC LIFE

Section 1. Muslims mainly an Urban Community.

The Muslim aristocracy, by virtue of their favoured position in the state and society, and partly on account of their own temperament and outlook, had become more ease-loving and extravagant than the rest of the Muslim population¹. The stream of foreign immigration had deposited on Indian soil more of warriors and learned men than of artisans and technicians. They surrounded the personality of the sovereign and formed the galaxy of the royal paraphernalia. The seat of the Mughal administration was located in the cities and primarily concerned with the city population and those belonging to its immediate neighbourhood. The villages, though they provided food and revenue, were neglected and despised.

¹ Edward Terry, p. 235; Ovington, pp. 233, 234. Ovington says, "And first, to treat briefly of the Moors (i. e. Muslims), who are allowed a precedence to all the rest, because of their Religion, which is the same with that of their Prince, and for this reason they are advanced to the most Eminent Stations of Honour and Trust; are appointed Governors of Provinces, and are entrusted with the principal Military as well as Civil Employments. . . . For Religion, which puts a bias upon the mind,

Generally speaking the Muslims on the whole entertained a strong aversion for country life. Even the poorer classes of the Muslims shivered at the idea of going to villages as if they were exiled for some misdoing. Life in a village was as intolerable to them as residence on "the Getic and Sarmatian shores" away from "the seat of empire and of the gods" was to a cultured poet of Imperial Rome².

Section 2. Their Professions.

In Islam there is a great stress on earning an honest living (*kasab-i-halal*), and the precedent had already been set by the Prophet of God and the pious Khalifs of Islam. The Muslims in Hindustan never hesitated to adopt any profession which suited their temperament and was within their means. No profession of honest sweating was looked down and it never acted as a barrier for aesthetic pursuits and for the higher attainments of spiritual knowledge.

The Muslim conquest of Hindustan at the initial stage was more or less a military occupation, and later on a colonization on a fairly large scale. The old Indian life never really assimilated the foreigners to their ideas. Despite the efforts of a few wide-seeing men like Akbar, no true or permanent union, except occasionally among the officials and ruling classes, ever took place between the Hindus and the Muslims. Hence, necessity drove the Muslim rulers to maintain large armies to

entitle them to the Court favours, when it carries a conformity to that of their Prince".

² There was a proverbial Persian couplet in vogue which manifestly betrays their sense of hatred and dislike for village life :—

Zagh dum su-i-shahar wa sar su-i-deh.

Dum-i-an zagh az sar-i-u beh.

Trans. The tail of a crow was turned towards the city and its head towards the village;

Surely, the tail here was better than the head!

(‘better’, i. e., nobler or happier.)

Ahkam-i-Alamgiri, No. 28, text, p. 33.

keep in check a hostile or at least repellent population. The profession of arms was most attractive to the Muslims and the followers of the Quran, as it satisfied their religious zeal and also yielded a handsome remuneration³. The Muslims were employed in the army according to their capacity beginning from the commanders down to camp followers.

Trade from big foreign enterprise down to petty shop-keeping was the second best alternative, rather the primary occupation, in the times of peace for the Muslim world. In medieval days the inadequate means of communication and transport and the insecurity of the roads accounted for the growth of the institution of 'Carvan trade'⁴. A considerable amount of trade was carried on by overland route through the two Indian gateways, Qandahar and Kabul, with Balkh and Khurasan, Khwarism and Persia, Turkey and Arabia, and even Tibet and China. Foreign Muslim merchants were usually designated as 'Khurasanis'⁵. The 'Banjaras' were a class of people, essentially Indians, including both

³ Mandelslo, p. 18; Careri says, "On the other side there being no Prince in the World that pays his Soldiers better, a Stranger that goes into his Service soon grows Rich..." Part III, p. 234.

⁴ Thomas Coryat (1612-17) describes a 'Carvan' thus: "A caravan is a word much used in all Asia; by which is understood a great multitude of people travelling together upon the way, with camels, horses, mules, asses, etc., on which they carry merchandizes from one country to another, and tents and pavilions (sic), under which instead of houses they shelter themselves in open fields, being furnished also with all necessary provisions and convenient implements to dress the same;..." *Early Trauels in India*, ed. William Foster, p. 259. Also see Elphinstone, *Account of Caubul*, I, 379.

⁵ Babur observes, "Just as Arabs call every place outside Arabia 'Ajam, so Hindustanis call every place outside India, *Khurasan*." *Baburnama*, English trans., II, 202; Barbosa, writing about 1510 A.D. applies the term 'Coracones' to the inhabitants of North Persia and the kingdom ruled over by Husain Mirza Baiqara, including Sistan and Herat (trans. Dames, I, 119-120 *note*). Ibn Batuta also had remarked two centuries before that the people of Delhi speak of all Asiatic strangers indiscriminately as Khurasanis. (Defre'mery, III, 229).

Hindus and Muslims, who transported goods and merchandize from place to place and from country to country⁶.

During our period India was economically self-sufficient and gained very little by international exchanges, except certain foreign commodities consisting of precious metals, together with a few articles of luxury enjoyed by the rich. The needs of the Indian masses were very limited and imported goods failed to capture the Indian markets.

It was left for the indigenous population and a certain class of Musalman of Indian origin to take to handicrafts or petty trade in a city. Among the Muslim community there were fewer agriculturists, smaller number of artisans and a large proportion of household attendants of the Sultans and the grandees of the Empire. However, in the ranks of the foreigners there were better craftsmen also. They were more expert in certain essential industries and the royal patronage had attracted a large number of them to the Mughal Court⁷. In fact *hunar* (craftsmanship)

⁶ Before despatching the Qandahar expedition in the seventeenth year of his reign, Jahangir says, "It was therefore decided to encourage the grain-sellers, who in the language of India are called *Banjara*, and, providing them with money, to take them along with the victorious army, so that there might be no difficulty about supplies. The *Banjaras* are a tribe. Some of them have 1,000 bullocks, and some more or less. They take grain from different districts into the towns and sell it. They go along with the armies, and with such an army there would be 100,000 bullocks or more". *Tuzuk*, II, 233, 234. The Banjaras were usually left unmolested by the belligerents. The term *Banjara* is derived from the Sanskrit *Banij*, "a trader or merchant," and not from the Persian *Birinj*, 'rice'. For further details about this class of people see Rose's *Glossary*, II, 62, 63; Elliot, *Races of North-Western Provinces*, I, 52-56; *Ain-i-Akbari*, text, II, 230; *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, trans., p. 296; N.R. Cumberlege, "Some Account of the Banjara Class", *North Indian Notes and Queries*, Jan. 1895, Vol. IV, No. 379; Captain John Briggs, "Account of the Origin, History, and Manners of the Races of Men Called Banjaras", *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, I, Article No. XII, pp. 170-197. Also see *Tamaddun-i-Hind*, trans., p. 92.

⁷ The Mughal emperors and nobles patronized the foreign craftsmen and vied with each other in securing the services of the best of

was as much prized as *himmat* (courage) by the Muslims*. At the beginning the Muslims depended upon the Hindus for labour of every kind, from architecture down to agriculture and the supply of servants. Many branches they had to learn from the Hindus, as, for example, the cultivation of indigenous produce, the building of houses, and wearing of stuffs suitable for the climate, management of elephants, and so forth⁸, though gradually they mastered these arts and adapted themselves according to their needs and necessity. Moreover, the artisan class was first to be converted to Islam. The royal factories (*karkhanas*) mainly depended upon Indian Muslims.

The agriculture was least favoured by the Muslims and they dreaded country life as a punishment, except among the Hindu converts from lower classes in East Bengal and some villages in Kashmir.

Besides these, among the Muslims, there were butchers⁹, water-carriers¹⁰, corpse-washers (*Ghussals*)¹¹, engravers, painters, illumi-

them. Pelsaert says about Shahjahan, "He was a patron of all craftsmen, to whom he paid such high wages that he attracted all the splendour of his father's court". p. 37.

* There is a Persian proverb still in vogue :

Ba-hunar nar;

Be-hunar khar.

Trans. A person with a craft is masculine, i.e., man in the real sense; and a man not knowing any art is an ass!

⁸ Badauni (Lowe), II, 64, 65; Erskine, *Babur*, I, 232. Also see an article by Blochmann, 'A Chapter from Muhammadan History: The Hindu Rajas under the Mughal Government', *Calcutta Review*, Vol. CIV, 1871.

⁹ Ovington remarks, "And it is only among them (Muslims) that the Butchers kill the Meat, and sell it to the Strangers; for the Indians will scarce look upon a mangled Carcass". p. 242.

¹⁰ In India the common word for water-carriers is *bisti* or *bhishti*, the origin of which is said to be as follows: When Babur came to India he found the heat of the climate so un-endurable, that he said that the only enviable people were water-carriers, and that they ought to be called *bihishti*, paradisiacal.

¹¹ "When a Mahomedan dies, there are special persons who come to

nators, medical men otherwise called Yunani Hakims¹², who practised the Græco-Arab system of medicine, calligraphists and persons who earned their livelihood by copying books and the Holy Quran. Music, poetry and story-telling also provided the means of sustenance of a few and raised deserving persons to the patronage of the Court and Nobility. Moreover, we find references to the professional classes of men such as weavers¹³, washermen, barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors and wood-cutters, who generally hailed from the lower strata of Muslim society¹⁴.

Section 3. Representation of Various Classes of Muslims in State Services : A General Survey.

The Muslims, being composed of incongruous elements belonging to diverse races, had developed peculiar traits of character and aptitude and were employed in the service of the state according to their ability. The Persians were equally at home with the use of arms and the drudgery

wash the corpse. These people make their living by this office...." Manucci, III, 153.

¹² They were Muslim physicians. Badauni says, "Some of the physicians in this reign (i. e. Akbar's) were so learned in the theory and skilled in the practice of medicine that they performed miracles like those of Musa (Moses), and brought to mind the wonder-working breath of the Lord 'Isa (Christ)". Badauni (Haig), III, 224. When the author of *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* was sent to Shaikh Abdul Aziz, who was ill, by Bakhtawar Khan with the imperial command that there should be no slackness in his treatment, and that if he wished, the Emperor was ready to send any of the Yunani doctors that he desired to treat him, he remarked, "I have no prejudice for any particular system of treatment. But I have no faith in the book-knowledge of these men, i.e., the Yunani doctors of the Court. If any of them be fit for being given a call, I have no objection". *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, text, p. 164; Sarkar's trans., pp. 101-102.

¹³ The *Julahas* or weavers were known for their proverbial stupidity and were called *Rahmat-ullahis* in Hindustan. See Badauni (Ranking), I, 527, 528 and *note*. Also see Rose's *Glossary*, II, 413-416.

¹⁴ Compare Manucci, IV, 175. Badauni (Haig), III, *passim*.

of book-keeping and finance. Even Aurangzib, who was distrustful of this race, recommended that "no other nation is better than the Persians for acting as clerks (*mutasaddis*)"¹⁵, and nearly all the Mir Bakhshis (Paymasters-General) of his reign were of Persian origin, who enjoyed very high reputation for ability, polish of manners, and power of office management¹⁶. As regards military service, their loyalty to the salt of their master (except when engaged against the rulers of their own creed) had gained for them an ascendancy in the Military and the Civil Secretariats¹⁷.

The Turanis who belonged to the race and creed of the ruling dynasty, claimed a superiority over the others. They were a strong and sturdy people more suited by temperament to the profession of arms than civil administration. They were expert cavaliers, fine swordsmen and past-masters in archery and, therefore, they were mostly enrolled in the military services of the state. They preferred even a low post in the army to a more lucrative job as a clerk in the revenue department¹⁸. The Arabs¹⁹ and Turks were mainly employed in the artillery branch

¹⁵ Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 265.

¹⁶ See Ibid, III, 70, for the list of the Paymasters-General of Aurangzib's reign.

¹⁷ Bernier says that when Sultan Shuja avowed himself to the Shia sect he was actuated by motive of policy as Persians held most influential offices in the kingdom. p. 9. Tavernier remarks, "Being clever they (Persians) are successful in finding means to advance themselves in (the profession of) arms, so that in the Empire of the Great Mogul, as well as in the kingdom of Golconda and Bijapur, the Persians are in possession of the highest posts". Vol. II, 177. Edward Terry says, "...a great number of Persians and Tartars, ...that there inhabit, very many of which the Mogul keeps for *soldiers*, to serve on horse-back, called them Haddees (*Ahadis*)." p. 121. Again he remarks: "many Persians and Tartars...serve him as *soldiers on horse-back*...." p. 149.

¹⁸ Mandelslo, p. 18.

¹⁹ The Arabs mainly inhabited the coastal towns and were more powerful in Gujrat and the Deccan. There they generally engaged themselves in trade and commerce. See Briggs' *Firishta*, III, *passim*.

of the Imperial forces and the Abyssinians²⁰ usually found occupation as eunuchs in the seraglio of the Emperor and the nobles, though sometimes they were also appointed to some executive posts.

The warlike race of the Afghans was excluded almost as a rule from holding any office of trust and importance in the state during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir²¹. The striking rudeness of the Pathan character

²⁰ The pretorian band of Abyssinians played a prominent part in the history of India in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, specially in Bengal, Gujrat and the Deccan. They were introduced into Bengal by Barbak Shah and in the course of time they became from the protectors of the dynasty the masters of the kingdom. They were expelled from Bengal in 1522-23 A. D. by Alauddin Sayyid Husain Sharif Maki (899-927 A. H.) and obtaining no footing in North India they went to Gujrat and the Deccan. They were Sunnis by belief and were notorious for their ferocity, regicides and treachery. Even Abyssinian women were stout and smart, and they were posted as guards in female apartments of the royal house-hold. They were usually called *Habshis* in Hindustan, which term is used as a synonym for a black and ferocious look. See *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarret), II, 149; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., 277, 287, 290-292, 301, 302; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 164, 247, 347, 236, 237, 350; III, 22 and *passim*; *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 994, 1134, 1136; Badauni (Lowe), II, 145, 151, 167-171; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 375, 392, 404, 405. Also see N. Pearce, 'A Small but True Account of the Ways and Manners of the Abyssinians', *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, II, Article No. II, pp. 15-23.

²¹ Manucci observes, "recollecting what Shera—i. e., Sher Shah—had done to his father, Humayun—that is, he rebelled because he found himself very wealthy—Akbar left it as a law to his descendants that the Pathans should never receive higher pay than four thousand rupees a year, that they were not to be appointed governors, and should only be employed as soldiers". Vol. I, 147. In fact there were no hard and fast rules formulated by Akbar; but all the same Pathans were suspected and were not appointed to higher offices. At another place he remarks, "In the whole of Hindustan, from Kabul to the confines of Bengal, there may be one hundred fortresses. To these the king sends faithful Governors. Generally they are men in his service, being princes whose fidelity has been already tested. They are Rajputs, Sayyids and Mughals. But Pathans are never allowed to hold any of these fortresses,

and deportment generally rendered them unfit for civil administration. Nevertheless their aptitude for military life led them to be employed in the lower ranks of the Mughal army. During the reign of Shahjahan they were still political suspects, and not allowed to rise beyond the rank of "four thousand". Bernier says that the Mughals were compelled to engage Pathans and Rajputs because the Persians "shudder at the idea of fighting against their natural king (the Shah of Persia); especially because they acknowledge him as their Imam"²².

The Pathans were restored to favour when Aurangzib launched his endless and disastrous campaigns in the Deccan and for the first time the 'mansab' of '*panjhazari*' (five thousand) was bestowed upon Dilir Khan as a reward for his services against Shivaji²³. During the days of the later Mughals they again raised their heads and played a destructive role specially in Bengal history, though they possessed no centre of political cohesion and no nucleus for a racial rally.

The Mughal Service in Hindustan was predominantly foreign and it was not at all opened to men of Indian nationality. Tavernier remarks, "the native Muhammadan subjects of the Great Mogul there are but few in positions of command"²⁴. Akbar's court was essentially foreign, and even in his later years the Indian element, whether Hindu or Muslim, constituted only a small proportion of the whole²⁵. His traditions were discontinued by his successors after his

for fear they may plot some treason, as they did to King Humayun". Manucci, II, 446.

²² Bernier, p. 210.

²³ Dilir Khan, a Daudzai Afghan, was one of the best generals of Aurangzib. For his military career see *Maasir-ul-Umara*, II, 42-56.

²⁴ Tavernier, II, 176.

²⁵ The approximate composition of the Service under Akbar can be ascertained from Blochmann's laborious notes to the lists of the amirs and mansabdars given by Abul Fazl; these lists include all appointments made during the reign to ranks above 500, and also those holders of inferior rank who were alive when the *Ain* was compiled about 1595 A. D. Omitting a small number of officers whose origin is not on record,

death, and in Jahangir's time the Persian influence at Court increased with rapid strides²⁶. Bernier, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, emphatically asserts that "the Omrahs consist mostly of adventurers from different nations who entice one another to Court"²⁷. Dr. John Fryer, who visited India when Aurangzib occupied the throne, remarks that the Emperor, as a rule, created as many Umara and nobles out of the stock of the foreigners as was possible²⁸. This tendency did not change during the time of the later Mughals, and by the year 1744 the Persian influence at Court reached its highest water-mark.* Therefore, we may safely conclude that the upper grades of the army and civil service, during our period, almost exclusively belonged to the Muslims of non-Indian extraction though domiciled in this country for some years. The Indian Muslims, including a fair number of Muslims from Kashmir, who had the reputation of being efficient secretaries and good men of business, were mostly employed

we find that just under 70 per cent of the remainder belonged to families which had either come to India with Humayun, or had arrived at Court after the accession of Akbar; the remaining 30 per cent of the appointments were held by Indians, rather more than half by Muslims and rather less than half by Hindus. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 308-528.

²⁶ *Iqbalnama*, text, p. 172.

²⁷ Bernier, p. 212. The foreigners came to Hindustan in search of fortune and with high hopes and they were seldom disappointed. Mir Shihabuddin, son of Abid Khan, was under the service of Subhan Quli Khan in Persia. Mir Shihabuddin was called by his father who was serving at the Mughal Court. On the eve of Mir Shihabuddin's departure when he had gone some steps, Subhan Quli Khan called him back and said, "You are going to Hindustan where you will become a big man; I hope you will not forget me". *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (Sarkar), p. 56; also see p. 96; *Badshahnama* (Bib. Ind.), II, 98, 471; *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 329.

²⁸ Roe and Fryer, p. 448.

* The infiltration of the foreigners did not stop even in the days of later Mughals and we find that as late as in the reign of Mahammad Shah there was an influx of the Yusufzai and Afridi Afghans who settled in the Rohilkhand division,

in subordinate civil offices and the lower ranks of the Imperial forces. The Kashmiris²⁹ were considered the least suited for mansab and military service on account of their proverbial cowardice. Supple tongue, intrigue and handsome appearance were their recommendations. The Hindu converts to Islam did not rise as much during our period as in the Pre-Mughal days.

Section 4. Domestic Economy.

In the field of domestic management the Muslims knew no economy, -- extravagance and display (*shan*) beyond one's means being the general rule. The houses of the men of quality were fairly large and spacious, with at least two courtyards with halls and suites of rooms. In the rural area, almost every house of the poor and the lower middle class had a tank and garden of its own. The walls of the houses of the rich in the urban area, were 'plastered over with a composition made of freestone beaten small, lime, gum, and sugar, which makes a dazzling white and as smooth as glass'³⁰. The women's apartments were removed to the centre and it was "generally necessary to traverse two or three large

²⁹ Badauni (Bib. Ind.), I, 388; *Tuzuk*, II, 148; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 529; Bernier, p. 404; Pelsaert, p. 24. The author of *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri* betrays the fastidious taste of the medievalists when he remarks that "the beauty of Kashmir is devoid of salt". Persian text, p. 212. There is a Persian couplet, the authorship of which is generally ascribed to Aurangzib, which has become proverbial :—

Agar qaht-al-rijal uftad azeen seh uns kam giri;

Yakum Afghān, duam Kambo, swem badzat Kashmiri.

Trans.,

Even if there is dearth of men, have no connection with these three;

First Afghan, second Kambo, third wicked Kashmiris. *Amal-i-Saleh* (Bib. Ind.), I, 4; Badauni (Haig), III, 122 *note*. When the Kashmiri was granted a mansab a historian writes with a sigh: 'This is the beginning of the end of the Empire'. Vide Irvine, *Later Mughals*.

³⁰ For a description of Muslim house compare Mandelslo, pp. 63, 64; De Laet, p. 91.

courts and a garden or two before reaching them"³¹. The houses of the middle and the upper middle classes were nicely furnished with mattresses, Persian carpets on the floor and beautiful curtains hanging on doors and windows³². Aurangzib in the twenty-first year of his reign (1677 A.D.) with a view to checking extravagance and derive an indirect income, ordered that no mansabdar above four hundred (4-*sadi*) should begin construction of pucca houses without permission, which, it is needless to say, could not be had without a formal *nazr*³³.

In the matter of diet the Muslims were notoriously fastidious in taste and extravagant. Wazir Asaf Khan's dinner to Sir Thomas Roe supplies the *menu* of an Amir's *dastarkhwan* (dining carpet)³⁴. Men of average means even partook of varied dishes though of modest quality and quantity barring a few renowned eaters like Abul Fazl³⁵. Beef, though not looked upon with favour by the aristocracy, was the common sustenance of an ordinary Muslim³⁶. The meat-preparations, especially *Kababs* and *Sambosas*, were much relished³⁷. *Pulao* and *dampokht* fowls were the specialities³⁸. Jahangir was particularly partial to the flesh of

³¹ Tavernier, I, 393.

³² Compare *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 612, 616, 554; Badauni, Lowe, II, 377; De Laet, p. 91.

³³ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 100.

³⁴ *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, p. 237.

³⁵ Compare Terry, p. 193.

³⁶ Compare *Baharistan*, I, 250; II, 541; Roe and Fryer, p. 322; Thevenot, Part III, p. 16.

³⁷ Ibn Batuta, Urdu trans., pp. 26, 27; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 42.

³⁸ Ovington says: "*Palau* that is rice boiled so artificially, that every grain lies singly without being added together, with spices intermixt, and a boiled *Fowl* in the middle, is the most common Indian Dish; and a dumpoked (i. e. *dampokht* meaning steam-cooked) *Fowl*, that is boiled with butter in any small Vessel, is another". p. 235. Speaking about *Pulao* Terry remarks "... and this rice was presented to us, some of it white, in its proper colour, some of it made yellow with saffron, some of it was made green, and some of it put into a purple colour; but by what ingredient I know not; but this I am sure, that it all tasted very well :...." p. 196. Also see Roe and Fryer, p. 279.

fish, especially that of *rohu*, which was deemed best in Hindustan³⁹. To eat *Khichri* or boiled rice and pulses with melted butter (*ghee*) was very popular with the soldiery and the poorer classes of the people⁴⁰. Unspiced and unbuttered *Khichri* of rice and pulses boiled with lentils was a sick diet. Akbar's physician Hakim Ali once prescribed it to himself and became a martyr to it as Abul Fazl says. Besides rice and bread, cheese, milk and curd formed a part of daily food of a decent Muslim household⁴¹.

There was a great fondness for savoury dishes and everything was ground, minced, bruised or fried. Spices and butter were used in large quantities. As if spices were not enough to whip up the action of the stomach, a great number of *Achars* (pickles) and relishes were used⁴². For dessert and sweets *Halwas* of a variety⁴³, *Shakarparas*, *Sharbet* (sweet-drink) and dried fruits were taken⁴⁴. *Baqir Khani* also called *Bughra Khani*, a kind of crisp bread and *Faludah*, "a jelly strained from boiled wheat, and eaten with the expressed juice of fruits and ice, to which cream also is

³⁹ *Tuzuk*, I, 414; II, 292. Jahangir says: "I eat no fish but those that have scales, but not because the professors of the Shia faith look on those without scales as unlawful, but the cause of my aversion is this, that I have heard from old men, and it has become known to me by experience as well that fish without scales eat the flesh of dead animals and fish with scales do not eat it". Ibid, I, 188.

⁴⁰ "Of the food which is peculiar to the people of Gujrat there is the *Khichri* of bajra (a mixture of split peas and millet boiled together); this they call *Laziza* . . . As I had never eaten it, I ordered them to make some and bring it to me. It is not devoid of good flavour, and it suited me well. I ordered that on the days of abstinence, when I partake of dishes not made with flesh, they should frequently bring me this *Khichri*". Ibid, I, 419. Compare Tavernier, I, 391; Mandelslo, p. 64.

⁴¹ Compare Bernier, p. 353; *Baharistan*, I, 201.

⁴² Compare Ovington, p. 235; Roe and Fryer, p. 279; De Laet, p. 92; Ibn Batuta, Urdu trans., p. 288.

⁴³ Ibid, pp. 229, 230.

⁴⁴ Compare *Siyar*, trans., I, 389; *Baharistan*, I, 348; Badauni, Lowe, II, 199; text, I, 248.

sometimes added", were the other favourite foods⁴⁵. Once Mirza Nathan, author of *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, in order to seize the person of the rebellious Shaikh thought to extend an invitation to Shaikh Ibrahim Baba Afghan and others to a dinner consisting of bread, *Kushkka* (a kind of thick pottage made of wheaten flour and meat) and *Khirsā* (thickened milk)⁴⁶. The chief food of the people of Kashmir was *bhatta* (boiled rice; Bengali *bhat*) usually taken along with cooked vegetables⁴⁷.

The Muslims were habituated to drink water only after they had finished their meals⁴⁸. The use of ice was not unknown to them⁴⁹. The Mughal Emperors, even Aurangzib, were very particular about drinking Ganges water regularly for reasons of its peculiar property⁵⁰.

The Muslims were very careful about their clothing and they generally stuck "to their ancient fashions"⁵¹. The upper garments of the males usually consisted of a *Qaba*, or tight-fitting tunics made of muslin (*malmal*) or fine wool according to the season and *Qamis* (shirt)⁵². The Hindus also wore *Qabas*, but they tied the strings on the left side while the Muslims did it on the right⁵³. In cold weather the aristocracy wore an overcoat over the tunics called *Dagla*⁵⁴. On closer contact

⁴⁵ Compare Badauni (Haig), III, 215; *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, trans., p. 284; *Tuzuk*, I, 387; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 68; Elphinstone, *Account of Caubul*, I, 342. Also see *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 59, 627 for a list of Hindustani menu and Terry, pp. 194-199 for special Muslim dishes.

⁴⁶ *Baharistan*, II, 457, 458.

⁴⁷ Compare *Tuzuk*, II, 146, 147. In the translation of the *Tuzuk* by Rogers and Beveridge *bhatta* has been given as *batha* which is incorrect.

⁴⁸ Careri, Part III, p. 252; De Laet, p. 92.

⁴⁹ Badauni (Haig), III, 203; text, I, 248; *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, trans., p. 281.

⁵⁰ Bernier, p. 364; Ovington, p. 208.

⁵¹ Terry, p. 205.

⁵² Compare Manucci, II, 13; Ovington, p. 314; *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 18; Mandelslo, p. 28.

⁵³ Manucci, II, 122; Ovington, p. 314.

⁵⁴ *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Barani vide J. A. S. B., 1935, I, 275.

with western countries, *Farghul*, or fur-coats also came in vogue. For their head-dress turbans (*Shis*, also called *Pag* or *Pagri*) and *Kulah*, or tall Tartar caps were used⁵⁵. The Shias put on the scarlet cap of twelve points or seven points according to their sect, Twelvers or Seveners, i. e., number of Imams whom they recognised⁵⁶. Faqirs and 'darveshes' and the humble poor who could not afford the luxury of a turban only wore a skull-cap (fillet or head-covering, *Taqia*) which is concealed and worn under the turban⁵⁷. Close-fitting trousers (*Izar*, the *churidar pyjama* of our time) and *Shalwars* (loose drawers) were used as the under-garment. The ordinary orthodox Muslim was only anxious to wear clothes of simple material like linen and to avoid silk, velvet, brocade or fur and coloured garments, in accordance with the spirit of the Shari'at. *Bafta*, woven of cotton and silk threads, was invented as a compromise between orthodoxy and current fashion⁵⁸. Emperor Humayun introduced a new design of overcoat which was cut at the waist and was open in front⁵⁹. Jahangir adopted for himself certain special clothes among which *Nadiri* (called *Kurdi* by Persians) was the most prominent which was worn over the *Qaba*⁶⁰. *Farji*, a kind of coat, and *Charqab* (vest without sleeves) were the other special robes meant for the use of royalty and to be bestowed as an honour on the favoured ones⁶¹. The red and white colours were

⁵⁵ Thevenot, Part III, p. 36; Mandelslo, p. 63; Ovington, p. 314.

⁵⁶ Compare Briggs' *Firishta*, III, 78.

⁵⁷ Compare *Humayun Nama*, text, pp. 72, 90, 93; Elliot and Dowson, V, 76.

⁵⁸ Compare for Muslim dress Careri, Part III, p. 252; Thevenot, Part III, pp. 37, 38; Roe and Fryer, p. 281; P. Della Valle, I, 44-46; Bernier, p. 139; De Laet, pp. 80, 81.

Mashru—Canonically allowed cloth, i. e., mixed silk and cotton stuff, was worn, because a Muslim must not wear a dress of pure silk except in the emergency of fighting.

⁵⁹ Compare Khwanda Mir's *Humayun Nama*, pp. 141, 142 vide J. A. S. B., 1935, I, 275.

⁶⁰ *Tuzuk*, I, 384.

⁶¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 89; *Tuzuk*, I, 304, 15; II, 102, 202; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 634,

generally favoured by the Muslims⁶². There were differences in details between the dress and manner of wearing of a Persian and those of a Turk and between the Mughals and the Hindustanis⁶³. The religious classes of the Muslim community dressed themselves in a peculiar fashion and thereby distinguished themselves in Abul Fazl's words as "bescarfed and be-turbaned" — the turban being of huge size and white in colour⁶⁴. In private the Muslims usually used *Lungis* (loin-cloth)⁶⁵ in imitation of the Arabs to be wrapped round their bodies as early as the time of Muhammad Tughlaq if not earlier in Hindustan, as Ibn Batuta noticed. Shawls, mostly from Kashmir, were also in use as a dress and were thrown across the shoulders⁶⁶. The Mughals were not like the early Turks very particular about stockings which the Muslims brought into general use in India,— Sanskrit having no equivalent for *mozah*, though the Central Asian Sakas and Huns perhaps used it. They used light shoes or heelless sandals (now called *Salim Shahi*) which could be easily put off outside the carpet⁶⁷.

There was not much difference in material but only of design between the dresses of males and females though the latter were 'very sumptuous in their attire'⁶⁸. The women in general wore close-fitting trousers, shirts and a long scarf "wrought with gold, the ends whereof hang down on both sides as low as their knees"⁶⁹. Some women also used a thin cap for the covering of their heads⁷⁰. The Kashmiri women only put on a long tunic (*kurta*) of *puttu* coming down to the feet and it was considered

⁶² But green is the colour of Shias. Compare Briggs' *Firishta*, III, 228; IV, 116.

⁶³ Manucci, I, 87; Mandelslo, p. 50.

⁶⁴ Compare *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., pp. 124, 125.

⁶⁵ *Baharistan*, II, 589; *Badshahnama*, text, I, Part II, p. 273.

⁶⁶ *Baharistan*, I, 131; Bernier, p. 403.

⁶⁷ Tavernier, I, 291; Careri, Part III, p. 252.

⁶⁸ Mandelslo, pp. 50, 63; Roe and Fryer, p. 454.

⁶⁹ Mandelslo, p. 50. Also compare Terry, pp. 202, 203.

⁷⁰ Mandelslo, p. 50.

wrong to wear drawers⁷¹. The use of waistband (*kamarband*) was common both among men and women.

"All the troops, from the Omrah to the man in the ranks, will wear gilt ornaments; nor will a private soldier refuse them to his wife and children, though the whole family should die of hunger"⁷², thus speaks Bernier about the use of jewellery. Ornaments were quite an important item for the decoration of the body whether masculine or feminine. It is needless to quote the authoritative list from *Ain-i-Akbari* regarding the variety of ornaments which were used for the head, arms, nose, ears, fingers, neck, waist and feet. Almost every part of the body on which some ornament or the other could possibly be fixed or hung was not without it. The Muslim women invariably wore nose-rings, ear-rings and those of aristocratic families also necklaces studded with pearl, diamond, ruby and other precious stones according to the means. Bracelets (*kara*) and armlets (*pahunchi*) were used both by men and women. Anklets, tassels (*jhumka*), chains and finger-rings were other popular ornaments⁷³. Besides, there was much consumption of gold thread in the upper class Muslim household in the manufacture of embroidery and for other decorative purposes⁷⁴. Nur Jahan Begam revolutionized dresses and decorations. She designed new varieties of brocade and lace, gowns and carpets. A particular brocade of pattern called *Nur Mahali* would furnish, for rupees twenty-five only, a complete dress for the bride and bridegroom. Her *do-dami* and *panchatolia*, *badhah*, *kinari* and *farsh-i-chandani* are still famous. She invented new patterns for gold ornaments and new ways of adorning apartments and arranging feasts. Writing a century later, Khafi Khan remarks that the fashions introduced by Nur Jahan still governed society and that the old ones

⁷¹ *Tuzuk*, II, 148.

⁷² Bernier, p. 224.

⁷³ For the use of ornaments among Muslims and the ornaments worn by them compare *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 93; Bernier, pp. 223, 224; De Laet, p. 81; Careri, Part III, p. 252; *Tuzuk*, I, 375; II, 99, 100, 180; Mandelslo, p. 50, Manucci, II, 339, 340.

⁷⁴ Bernier, p. 224; Mandelslo, p. 63.

survived only among the Afghans in backward towns⁷⁵.

The Mughals generally shaved their heads and wore their hair close-cropped, but the Pathans like the Rajputs kept their hair long hanging on the neck (*babri*), while the *Mullas* distinguished themselves by their long beards and the flowing locks of hair kept in imitation of the Prophet⁷⁶. The Enlightened ones of Akbar's school delighted in shaving their beards clean and justified the act by saying that the people of Paradise would also be without beards⁷⁷. Aurangzib's reforms indicate the wide prevalence of an un-Islamic state of things in dress, morals and manners of the Muslims down to his accession. He, it is said, posted barbers and tailors at the gate of the royal castle to cut off the extra length of *beard* and *pyjama* not approved by the Shari'at⁷⁸. The Muslims were very fond of perfumes and scents (*'itr*) the use of which was regarded a *sunna*⁷⁹. The *'Itr-i-Jahangiri* was first manufactured out of rose-water through the efforts of the mother of Nur Jahan Begam during Jahangir's reign. It was of such strength in perfume that if one drop was rubbed on the palm of the hand it scented a whole assembly and it appeared as if many rose-buds had bloomed at once⁸⁰. Every Muslim family had as many servants as they could maintain with a specified daily

⁷⁵ Compare Khafi Khan, I, 269; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 510.

⁷⁶ Mandelslo, p. 63; Terry, pp. 125, 247; P. Della Valle, I, 43; Badauni, Lowe, II, 392, 400, 419; De Laet, p. 80.

⁷⁷ See Badauni, Lowe, II, 286, 313. One poet went so far as to say that "black beards are the darkness of hell". See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarret, III, 217.

⁷⁸ Manucci says: "It was, however, amusing to see the official in charge of beards rushing hither and thither, laying hold of wretched men by beard, in order to measure and cut off the excess, and clipping their moustaches to uncover the lips... It was equally quaint to see the soldiers and others covering their faces with their shawls when they beheld afar off the said official, for fear of some affront". Vol. II, 7, 8.

⁷⁹ Compare *Siyar*, trans., III, 225; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 422; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 100; *Baharistan*, I, 216; II, 476, 484, 502, 729, 736.

⁸⁰ *Tuzuk*, I, 270, 271.

routine assigned to each⁸¹. Servants were perhaps treated sometime harshly, and they were clever enough to retaliate sometimes. Once it is said the great wazir Itimaduddaula, while on a march, was one day found in tears in his tent. When the reason of it was enquired about he replied, "the menials of Hindustan" who had left him in a body. Manucci says it was advisable to take a few young maidservants to prevent desertion of male servants during a journey. The same is necessary even today to run a smooth household.

The necessary equipments of an average Muslim household were the utensils of copper zinc-coated (*Qala'i*) from outside, dishes of china-ware, *Pandans* (box for betels) and *Huqqas* for smoking tobacco⁸². They slept on cots (*charpaya*) which, according to Ibn Batuta, were woven with the strings of silk or cotton and were light enough to be easily carried. For their bedding the persons of means used quilts and pillows made of silk, and to avoid dirtiness covers of cotton or *katan* were wrapped upon them⁸³. It is remarkable that the Muslims generally believed in borrowed show and ostentation for the outside though niggardliness prevailed inside the houses. Manucci while speaking about the Pathans says that when 'they come to court they are well-clad and well-armed, caracollling on fine horses richly caparisoned, posing as persons of some consideration, and followed by several servants borrowed or hired for the day. On reaching their house they divest themselves of all this finery, and, tying a scanty cloth round their loins and wrapping a rag round their head, they take their seat on mat, and live on *khichri* or badly cooked cow's flesh of low quality, which is very abundant and cheap'⁸⁴.

⁸¹ Compare Mandelslo, p. 64.

⁸² Ibn Batuta, Urdu trans., p. 206; Mandelslo, p. 28; *Tuzuk*, I, 379; *Baharistan*, II, 454; Manucci, II, 177; Roe and Fryer, p. 181.

⁸³ Compare Ibn Batuta, Urdu trans., p. 206.

⁸⁴ Manucci, II, 453.

CHAPTER III

MUSLIMS AND HINDUS

Section 1. In Public Services.

India never became a predominantly Muslim country in spite of the policy of a Firuz or an Aurangzib. The Muslims were a drop in the sea. Bernier states, "The great Mogol is a foreigner in Hindustan. . . he finds himself in a hostile country, or nearly so; a country containing hundreds of Gentiles (i.e. Hindus) to one Mogol, or even to one Mahometan"¹. But in the public service the scale was turned and the proportion was just the reverse². It was for the first time that Akbar started the policy

¹ Bernier, p. 209. The statement of Bernier is corroborated by other European observers, but his remark is somewhat slightly exaggerated. Dr. Gemelli Careri says, "...for in India there is scarce a Mahometan among fifty men". Part III, p. 231. Tavernier estimates the proportion by saying that "The idolators of India are so numerous that for one Muhammadan there are five or six Gentiles". Vol. II, 181. There was no census of population in medieval times and we have given preference to Bernier who was a minute observer and had closer associations. This is also suggested by the nature of the fact itself.

² The apologist of Aurangzib, Zahiruddin Faruki, and other wishful Muslim writers of the present century have fruitlessly tried to glorify the good name of the Muslim sovereigns of Medieval India. Their main reliance is the testimony of Hamilton that "The religion of Bengal by

of India for Indians; service was opened to talent, absolute freedom of conscience was granted, toleration and brotherhood were the orders of the day, but, as pointed out before in the previous chapter, the Hindu element in state services did not exceed the narrow limit of 15 per cent³. No definite and categorical explanation is possible. It may be due to moral and intellectual degeneration of the Hindu community, the result of the centuries of political servitude, and hence a consequent want of capable men; or, because it was just the beginning of the process. Moreover, the Hindus were mostly ignorant of Persian and their aristocracy (unlike the Persian) were illiterate.

During the reign of Jahangir the reaction came in, only it was gradual and slow and not easily perceptible. William Hawkins (1608-13) accuses Jahangir of dismissing his Rajput generals and replacing them by Muslims which resulted in the loss of the dominions in the Deccan conquered by his father⁴. Moreover, the foreign element in the Imperial Service slightly increased when Nur Jahan was at the helm of affairs⁵.

The period (1628-1707) is characterised by a strong orthodox reaction that brought into play narrow-mindedness, fanaticism and

law established is Mahometan, yet for one Mahometan there are above one hundred pagans, and the public offices and posts of trusts are filled promiscuously with men of both persuasions". (Hamilton, *A New Account of East Indies*, II, 14). But the facts rebel against their pious enterprise. Bengal was an exception, having mostly low class Hindu converts incapable of filling any high office. At any rate one swallow does not make a weather. Moreover, the credit and value of Muslim rule in India rests on solid foundations encircling multifarious political and cultural aspects universally admitted by competent authorities. But the indulgence of Muslim writers with concrete facts is simply funny. See Faruki, *Aurangzib and His Times*, p. 568; S. M. Jaffar, *Mughal Empire*, p. 411.

³ Actually there were 51 Hindu mansabdars out of the total of 415. Hence the percentage was less than fifteen. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Blochmann), I, 528.

⁴ *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, ed. William Foster, pp. 106, 107.

⁵ Compare P. Della Valle, I, 54.

bigotry, intolerance and religious persecution⁶. Shahjahan was in policy verily the *father* of Aurangzib, and the growing conservatism and reaction definitely dates from his accession. But he was prudent enough not to risk his Empire for a Muslim's conscience, like his son. Aurangzib's fond dream was to make India truly a *Dar-ul-Islam*⁷, the land of the faithful. He felt extreme reluctance in admitting Hindus to his service and promoting them to any high post of trust as is evident from his own pen and instructions⁸. Faruki's *apologia* would have us believe that "The policy of non-discrimination between Hindus and Musalmans in the matter of employment was rigidly followed by Aurangzib"⁹. It is a piece of political propaganda to create an Alamgir-shahi myth and distort history for a purpose neither pious nor politic. The contemporary Muslim chroniclers have shed enough lurid light on their 'deliverer' whose policy satisfied their orthodox zeal¹⁰. But it

⁶ Ovington says, "Very few of the Gentiles being called to any considerable Trust, or encouraged any more, than just to follow their serveral Manual Occupations, or Merchandize. For Religion, which puts a bias upon the mind, entitles them (Muslims) to the Court favours, when it carries a conformity to that of their Prince. Therefore the Gentiles are little esteemed by the Moors, and often treated with Inhumanity and neglect, because of their adhesion to the Principles of a Religion which is different from that of the State." pp. 233, 234.

⁷ In the *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* it is laid down that a *Dar-ul-harab* becomes a *Dar-ul-Islam* on one condition, viz., the promulgation of the edicts of Islam. According to the *Ghiyas-ul-Lughat*, *Dar-ul-harab* is any country belonging to infidels which has not been subdued by Islam. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 69, 277, 710.

⁸ Aurangzib wrote to his son, Mohammad Azam, "Why do you recommend a Hindu to be appointed *vice* a Muslim, knowing it to be opposed to my wishes?" *Kalimat-i-Tayyabat*, lith. Lucknow, Letter No. 33, p. 12.

⁹ Faruki, *Aurangzib and His Times*, p. 201.

¹⁰ 1. "Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding public offices, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of these infamous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so difficult a task". *Mirat-i-Alam*, Elliot and Dowson, VII, 159.

must be said in fairness to Aurangzib that he thought it a duty incumbent on him by his religion to rescue the misguided people, though there is little or no justification for such an enforced help and uncalled for guidance. This stand is also supported by his strong aversion (rather practical persecution) of Shi-ism and other heretical groups among Muslims. The non-Muslims, and the non-Sunnis were tolerated only as necessary evils, to be exploited for the ultimate gain of Islam. Bernier, while talking about the Rajput valour and their single-mindedness to die in the course of action than to turn their backs, observes, "Who then can wonder that the Great Mogol, though a Mahometan, and as such an

2. When the prince (Bidar Bakht) was about to march from Malwa to Khandesh he proposed to leave Jai Singh there as his deputy governor; but Aurangzib vetoed the proposal, as he had a rule that no Rajput should be appointed Subahdar or even Faujdar. *Inayat*, 68a, 72b vide Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, 389.

3. "All diwans, however, were not wazirs, and we read of no Hindu diwan being given this high title". Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, 62.

4. In 1671 an ordinance was issued that the rent-collectors of the crownlands must be Muslims, and all Viceroys and taluqdars were ordered to dismiss their Hindu head-clerks (*peshkars*) and accountants (Diwanians) and replace them by Muslims. It must be noted that the service in the revenue department provided daily bread to middle class Hindus able to read and write. The official historian of the reign extols the measure: "By one stroke of the pen he (Aurangzib) dismissed all the Hindu writers from his service". *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, text, p. 528. It was found impossible to run the administration after dismissing the Hindu *peshkars* of the provincial governors, but in some places Muslims replaced Hindu Kroris (district rent-collectors). Later on, the Emperor yielded so far to necessity as to allow half of the *peshkars* of the Revenue Minister's and Paymaster's departments to be Hindus and the other half Muslims. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, 277. Faruki's contention that Aurangzib ordered the dismissal of Hindu clerks from revenue department and Paymaster's department because they were corrupt, 'thievish' and very unpopular with soldiery and it was only an administrative expedient to appoint one Hindu and one Muslim side by side, does not hold water in the light of evident facts and the testimony of the chroniclers of the time. See Faruki, *Aurangzib and His Times*, pp. 190-191.

enemy to the Gentiles, always keeps in his service a large retinue of Rajas, treating them with the same consideration as his other Omrahs, and appointing them to important commands in his armies"¹¹. Therefore, compelled by political exigencies the Mughal sovereigns of Hindustan, however orthodox they might have been, retained the Hindus in their services¹². Faithful service and submissive deportment were their chief recommendations¹³. The higher services, especially in the army, were monopolised by the Rajputs to the exclusion of other Hindu castes. The subordinate civil services fell to the lot of Khatris from the Punjab, Agarwal Banias, Kayasthas and others. The predominance of the Rajputs in the Mughal service was actuated by matters of policy and was a diplomatic stroke, pure and simple, as they formed the cream of Hindu society and their loyalty and submission meant the acknowledgment of the Muslim rule by the Hindu population in general.

¹¹ Bernier, p. 40.

¹² Bernier assigns many reasons as to why Rajputs were engaged in the Mughal army:—

First. The Rajputs were excellent soldiers and the Rajas could bring in one day more than twenty thousand to the field.

Second. To create a counterpoise against the Rajas who had not been yoked the Mughal suzerainty.

Third. To employ as tools to foment jealousy and warfare among the Rajas themselves.

Fourth. To be employed against Pathans and the rebellious Umara.

Fifth. To send against the kingdoms of the Deccan (Bijapur and Golconda) where Persians fought half-heartedly by being of the same belief.

Sixth. To send against Persia where Persians in Mughal service dreaded to fight against their natural king and Imam.

(pp. 210, 211).

¹³ "And yet their (Hindus') peaceful submissive Deportment wins mightily upon the Moors, and takes off much of that Scornful Antipathy which they harbour against them". Ovington, p. 234. Instances regarding services rendered by the Hindus to the stability of the Mughal Empire, are not wanting. Shahjahan trusted his sword to a Hindu (Mahesh Das, son of Dalpat Rathor) when he sat on the Peacock Throne. *Badshahnama*, text, II, 635.

The impotent and the imbecile tail of the Mughal Emperors; who followed Aurangzib, were anxious for their personal security and happy if retained on the throne as figure-heads. They were unable to lay down any definite state policy of their own. But as an aftermath of the reaction of the previous century, they usually swam with the stream, and the Hindus generally standing aloof, only hastened their early extinction.

Section 2. Relations between Muslim and Hindu Aristocracy.

The relations between the Muslim and the Hindu aristocracy were by no means friendly. But the mutual jealousy and rivalry was more personal than religious. Nearly every action of the nobles was dominated by personal considerations and whenever they embarked upon an independent course of action self-aggrandisement was the driving force. From the dawn of Mughal Rule in India there was a standing aloofness, an impassable gulf between the Nobility and the Commonalty. The upper strata of the society, who were closely associated with the throne, never identified themselves with the interests of the state and the common people. Under the Mughals every noble enjoyed only a life interest in his holdings and all their achievements and acquirements were exclusively official. The sovereign constituted himself heir of all the aristocracy. The system fomented a feeling of jealousy and rivalry which resulted in a race for extravagance and individual distinction and they strove all their lives to get nearer to the throne by treading on the toes of their rivals.

The growing orthodox reaction during this period gave a further impetus to racial discrimination¹⁴. Shahjahan's orthodoxy encouraged

¹⁴ It had been found next to impossible to brigade these two creeds together for a campaign under one general. Hence, in the first siege of Qandahar all the Rajputs of the Mughal van marched under Raja Bithal Das and all the Muslims under Bahadur Khan, two co-ordinate authorities subject only to the Commander-in-chief. In the Bijapur war also all the Rajputs of the reinforcements sent from Hindustan were led by Chhatra Sal Hada, and all the Muslim troops by Mahabat Khan. It

his Musalman officers to indulge in their religious frenzy, regardless of the wounds that might be received by Hindu officers in his employ. The discriminatory policy of Aurangzib gave the finishing stroke and the earlier candid relations, the fruit of the labours of their forefathers, were sacrificed to bigotry and narrow-mindedness. Everything went to the dogs during the later-Mughal period when the Indians as a whole, became unscrupulous and degenerate; avarice and apathy, faithlessness and ingratitude, self-interest and treachery reigned supreme. However, it should not be presumed that there was a total want of good-will and social intercourse. In spite of the jarring elements of political dissensions and in spite of the corrosive influence of religious antagonism, centuries of constant association and the growth of a common language and culture had brought the two communities too near to avoid social intercourse. Generally speaking the Muslims were against Hinduism but not against Hindus. In private and daily life the Muslim grandees favoured the Hindu Rajas and nobles with their visits and joined freely in their festivals and ceremonies¹⁵.

Section 3. General Relations among Muslims and Hindus.

Barring a few instances of intolerance and fanaticism the general relations among the Muslims and Hindus, during our period, were cordial, and characterised by good will, mutual love and toleration¹⁶.

was only a commander standing in a position of unquestioned superiority above the heads of the other generals, that could make the two creeds work in amity. *Badshahnama*, text, II, 485; Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I & II, 352.

¹⁵ Bhimsen, the Hindu historian of Aurangzib's reign, states that "On the festival of 'Holi' (Spring festival of the Hindus), Bahadur Khan (Khan Jahan Bahadur Kotaltash) every day went to the houses of Raja Subban Singh, Rai Singh Rathor, Raja Anup Singh and Mokham Singh Chandrawat and watched the celebrations; and Mir Ahsan and Mir Muhsin, sons of the Khan were more forward than Rajputs themselves". *Nuskhah-i-Dilkusha*, p. 64. We gather from *Akhbarat* of the reign of Aurangzib that Hindu officers invited Muslims to break their fast (*iftar*) at the residence of the former.

¹⁶ See Tavernier, I, 70, 71.

The fact is born out by the whole history of Muslim rule in India where, except in the time of later Mughals, there were no communal riots on the mass scale, which may be ascribed to the mounting reaction of the seventeenth century¹⁷. The Hindus and Muslims, in their turn, influenced each other and a common cultural meeting ground was created. Sufism and the Bhakti movement effaced the differences in creed to a certain extent. The literary activities¹⁸ and the educational system where Hindu students studied side by side with their Muslim class-fellows, the social equality of all classes of people, and uniformity of law and usages, contributed to communal harmony and national solidarity.

The middle-class which generally comprised the artisans, intelligentsia and men of clerical profession, more freely came into contact with one another and their profession acted as a cementing force. They together suffered at the hands of a feudal aristocracy and the socio-economic factors overshadowed the religious bitterness. They ran away from the dogma of religious fanaticism and together cultivated the poetry of Sufism in moon-lit nights away from the gods who only aggravated their miseries without providing any relief for their daily bread.

The Hindu-Muslim masses were least distinguishable. The Hindu converts to Islam did not materially change their outlook and were more

¹⁷ The relations between Hindus and Muslims gradually degenerated during the time of the later Mughals. During the reign of Farrukh Siyar two communal riots took place. See *Siyar*, trans, I, 72-74; 86-90. In the twelfth year of the reign of Muhammad Shah a communal fight took place in Delhi. See *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, Elliot and Dowson, VIII, 48.

¹⁸ *Musha'iras* or poetical symposiums, an important institution popularized by Musalmans in India, were frequently convened. It became a most valuable asset to the progression of poetry. But it had got a great cultural value and moral effect. "This institution, though not enjoying the vogue which it did in the days gone by, is", according to Sir Abdul Qadir, "still fairly popular and often brings together people of different classes and communities, who manage to forget their differences for the time being, in their admiration for a common literature". 'The Cultural Influence of Islam in India', J. R. A. S., 10th. Jan. 1936. The origin of the institution dates back to the time of Fughani (died A. H. 925). *Sh'ir-ul-'Ajam*, III, 19, 28.

akin to their past social and religious order. They participated in their common sufferings and we find references when Muslims joined in Hindu festivals like 'Holi', 'Diwali' (the festival of lamps) and 'Dasehra' and Hindus celebrated Muslim festivals¹⁹.

¹⁹ Thevenot who personally saw the Muharram festival at Golconda mentions: "The Heathen Idolators celebrate this Feast also for their diversion, and they do it with such Fopperies as far surpass the Moors". Part III, p. 106. Under Akbar 'Diwali' and 'Dasehra' were celebrated as state festivals. *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 958, 1245. Also see *Tuzuk*, II, 100, 101.

CHAPTER IV

FESTIVITIES AND CEREMONIES

Section 1. Feasts and Festivals.

Islam is a puritanical religion with perhaps the fewest number of religious festivals; whereas Hinduism stands at the other extreme. But man has his own device to escape from Puritanism and create occasions of festivity. And such was the case with the Muslim particularly in Iran and Hindustan. Though Islam enjoins upon its followers the observance of only a certain feasts which should be celebrated with marked solemnity, the number got multiplied in the course of time, and the old institutions underwent modifications. During our period a number of feasts and festivals were celebrated; some were occasions of great rejoicings and others accounted for solemn recollection and even mourning.

ID-UL-AZHA or ID-I-QURBAN (the feast of sacrifice),—held on the tenth of *Zul-hijja*, the twelfth month of the Musalman year,—is the most important of Muslim festivals¹. In India it is generally regarded

¹ It is the chief of the Muslim festivals and is called *Id-ul-Kabir*, the great festival, to distinguish it from the *Id-ul-Fitr* which is known as *Id-us-Saghir*, the minor festival. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s. v. The authority for this sacrifice is an injunction in the *Qur'an*, XXII : 33-38. Muslims believe that great merit accrues to all who keep the feast, and

as a substitute for the sacrifice celebrated by pilgrims in the valley of Mina near Mecca in commemoration of Ibrahim's readiness to sacrifice his son Isma'il in obedience to the command of God². On the morning of the tenth, Muslims take a bath, wear their dress and go to the *Id-gah*, or place of prayer, situated generally outside a city or a village in an open space³, where they pray in congregation, repeating the Creed (*takbir*) all the way from their houses. After returning to their homes from *Id-gah*, the rite of sacrifice (*Qurbani*) is performed⁴. Shahjahan was very particular in this respect and he used to sacrifice animals every year⁵. In the time of Aurangzib the Qazi, with a slave behind him holding a drawn sword in his hands, received the Emperor and recited the names of his ancestors ending with a panegyric on and a prayer for the present ruler. As a reward on this occasion he received a rich *khil'at* of seven pieces of cloth. 'On the congregation leaving the mosque the camel stands ready for sacrifice at the foot of the steps. The Emperor, mounting his horse, thrusts his lance into the neck of the camel or orders one of his sons to perform this duty. When his son Shah Alam was present at Court he usually did this office. After this the slaves stretch

this is borne out by a well-known tradition credited to 'Aisha, the youngest wife of Muhammad. She reported that Muhammad once said: "Man has not done anything on the *Id-ul-Azha* more pleasing to God than spilling blood; for verily the animal sacrificed will come, on the day of resurrection, with its horns, its hair, and its hoofs, and will make the scales of his (good) actions 'heavy'. Verily its blood reacheth the acceptance of God before it falleth upon the ground; therefore be joyful in it". *Mishkat*, Book 4, ch. 49, 2.

² Compare Roe and Fryer, p. 306; Pelsaert, p. 74.

³ *Id-gah*, the place where the rites of the 'Id festival are conducted. It generally consists of a pavement, with a wall to the west, facing east. The term lit. means, "the place of rejoicing".

⁴ Compare *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, II, 51; *Baharistan*, II, 742.

⁵ *Badshahnama* (Bib. Ind.), I, 226, 430; Part II, pp. 101, 166, 256; II, 95, 191, 283, 332, 480, 624, 625. "...the like (i. e. sacrifice of animal) does every one in his own House, that is able to purchase one, and sprinkle their Blood on the sides of their Doors". Roe and Fryer, p. 306.

the camel on the ground and divide its flesh among themselves, as if it were saints' relics'⁶.

ID-UL-FITR, "the festival of the breaking of the Fast", is observed on the first of Shawwal, the tenth Arabic month, after the long-drawn fast of a whole month of Ramzan. Like *Id-ul-Azha*, it is religious in character and unlike the former is purely Islamic having been initiated by the Prophet in the second year of the Hijra era. This is a festival of rejoicing and thanksgiving after the tension of Ramzan or Lent and the very appearance of the moon of Id (*Hilal-i-Id*) is a signal for undisguised relief and unrestrained rejoicing⁷. The manner of celebrating this festival is almost the same as that of *Id-ul-Azha* with the main difference that alms are given bounteously in place of sacrifice and hence the festival is also called *Id-ul-Sadaga* (of Alms). The religious significance of *Baqr-Id* is greater than that of *Id-i-Ramzan*, but the latter is celebrated with more pomp and show, glory and enthusiasm. On this day the Muslims go to their friends, elders and others of higher rank and receive visits from subordinates⁸. During the reign of Aurangzib the festival was celebrated with great festivities and fireworks and the banquet continued for two days after the Id⁹. Music and dance, though forbidden by Islam, were the accompanying features of the day¹⁰. Unlike the Roman Catholic Lent, rejoicing and voluptuous excesses follow and not precede the days of abstinence.

With MUHARRAM (lit. "that which is forbidden", and so anything

⁶ Manucci, II, 349, 350.

⁷ *Badshahnama*, II, 221; Roe and Fryer, p. 304; Pelsaert, p. 73; "When the new moon (of Id) was seen at candle light, the Imperial trumpet was blown and all the firearms of the artillery were discharged simultaneously... From the early part of the evening till midnight, the artillery was continuously fired. In its later part the firing of guns was stopped and its place was taken by big canon". *Baharistan*, I, 110.

⁸ Ibid, I, 170.

⁹ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, pp. 18, 25, 36.

¹⁰ Manucci, IV, 235; *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 614, 615.

“sacred”) the Muslim year begins¹¹; but the tragedy of Karbala has converted it into a month of mourning for all Muslims, and especially for Shias. Now the Muharram is celebrated as the anniversary of the martyrdom of Husain at Karbala¹². The Sunnis generally keep aloof from Muharram celebrations except the vulgar sort, and they regard it as heresy and innovation (*bid'at*). They devote their time during the first ten days of Muharram to pious deeds. Tavernier informs us that Aurangzib had banned the celebration of Muharram festival in his reign¹³. During our period the first appearance of the moon of Muharram was hailed with great rejoicings and the mutual greetings (*mubarakbad*) for a happy new year¹⁴. The feelings between Shias and Sunnis during Muharram often ran high¹⁵. It appears that, where there was no Shia-

¹¹ The Prophet is said to have fixed the tenth or ‘*Ashura*’ of Muharram as a time of fast, which was subsequently transferred to Ramzan. The Muharram seems to have been originally a harvest feast (*Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics*, III, 126; V, 882). The question of ancient sanctity of the month is discussed by Sale (*Koran*, Preliminary Discourse, p. 81). The Prophet had ordered that his followers should observe certain additional customs on the ‘*Ashura*’ or tenth day. In certain historical and traditional works it is stated that on the tenth day of Muharram many events of religious importance had occurred. For further details see J‘affar Sharif, *Qanun-i-Islam*, ed. Crooke, pp. 151, 152.

¹² For a full account of the events connected with the martyrdom of Imam Husain, son of ‘Ali, the Fourth Khalif and the manner of celebration of Muharram in Hindustan see Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate*, chaps. 40, 41, 42; J‘affar Sharif, *Qanun-i-Islam*, ed. Crooke, ch. XIV, pp. 151-85; Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmans*, ed. Crooke, pp. 17-54.

¹³ Tavernier, II, 177.

¹⁴ *Baharistan*, I, 190.

¹⁵ “This Festival is hardly ever celebrated without Bloodshed; for there being several Sunnis, who laugh at the others, and the Chyias (Shias) not being able to endure it, they often quarrel and fight, which is a very proper representation of the Feast; and at that time there is no enquiry made into manslaughter, because the Moors believe, that during these ten days the Gates of Paradise are open to receive those who die for the Musselman Faith”. Thevenot, Part III, p. 106. Thevenot further

Sunni question, the Hindus were made the victims as the murderers of Imam Husain¹⁶. Moreover, there was a general tension between the various parties of Muharram enthusiasts. "If two parties meet carrying their biers (i. e. *tazias*), and one will not give place to the other, then, if they were evenly matched, they may kill each other as if they were enemies at open war"¹⁷. Whatever be the truth in ascribing the introduction of *Tazias* (or imitation mausoleums of the martyrs of Karbala) to Timur, it is interesting to note that the manner of Muharram celebration, during our period, did not differ much from what is done now. Monserrate says that during the Muharram 'the Musalmans fast for nine days, only eating pulse; and on certain of these days some of them publicly recite the story of the sufferings of Hasan and Husain from a raised platform, and their words stir the whole assembly to lamentation and tears. On the last day of the festival funeral pyres are erected and burnt one after the other. The people jump over these, and afterwards scatter the glowing ashes with their feet. Meanwhile they shriek "Hasan Husain" with wild and savage cries'¹⁸. Mandelslo, who saw the Muharram festival at Agra, narrates that "There are carried about the city, coffins covered with bows and arrows, turbans, scimitars, and garments of silk, which the people accompany with sobbings and lamentations, . . . Some among them dance at the ceremony, others strike their swords one against another; nay, there are those who cut and slash themselves, so as that the blood comes out in several places, wherewith they rub their clothes, and by that means represent a very strange procession. Towards night they set up several figures of men, made of straw, to

adds a Shia-Sunni fight during Muharram at Bagnagar (in Golconda) which took place before him. Ibid, p. 106.

¹⁶ Peter Mundy, II, 219; "And this they (i.e. Muslims) do with so much fury and animosity, that should there be any of the Pagans (i.e. Hindus) in the Streets at that time, they would run the hazard of their lives; whence it comes, that during these Ceremonies (of Muharram), they (the Hindus) stir not out of their houses". Mandelslo, p. 42.

¹⁷ Vide Faruki, *Aurangzib and His Times*, p. 535.

¹⁸ Monserrate, p. 22.

personate the murderers of those saints; and having shot a great many arrows at them, they set them on fire, and reduce them to ashes"¹⁹.

We have reasons to believe that in Hindustan the Muharram festival drew some of its features, e.g., burying of the *tazias* and mimic attacks on effigies from the *Ram-lila* of the Hindus, who burn the effigy of Ravan.

SHAB-I-BARAT, or *Lailat-ul-Barat*, the "night of record"²⁰, is observed on the fourteenth night of the eighth month, Sh'aban, and is so called because on this night it is supposed that the lives and fortunes of the mortals for the coming year are fixed and registered in Heaven²¹. Muhammad enjoined his followers to keep vigil throughout the whole night by offering special prayers, reading the Holy Book and other formulae to which the religious community strictly adheres. As a matter of fact, however, the time is marked by great merriment, and the extensive use of fireworks and the illumination of houses and mosques are the distinguishing features of popular celebration²². Therefore, Shab-i-Barat has been aptly described as the 'Guy Fawkes Day of Islam' although its associations are totally different from the parallel English

¹⁹ Mandelslo, p. 42. For further details about the celebration of Muharram during our period see Pelsaert, p. 75; Roë and Fryer, pp. 306, 307; Peter Mundy, II, 219; Thevenot, Part III, pp. 106, 107.

²⁰ Shab-i-Barat festival is very different from another religious observance called *Lailat-ul-Qadr* or *Shab-i-Qadr*, the "night of power", that mysterious night in the month of Ramzan, the actual date of which is said to have been known only to the Prophet and a few of the Companions. See J'affar Sharif, *Qanun-i-Islam*, ed. Crooke, p. 203.

²¹ Some say that this night is referred to in the Quran at xlv : 2, "On the night wherein all things are disposed in wisdom".

²² *Tuzuk*, II, 22, 94; *Badshahnama*, I, Part II, p. 5; II, 167, 168, 216. Also compare the account of Amir Khusrau who finds young urchins of Delhi playing with fire-works and making the city a virtual 'blazing hell of Abraham's legend'. He further states that everybody sent a few wick-lamps to illuminate the local mosque. Vide '*Ijaz-i-Khusravi*', lith. Lucknow, IV, 324. For further details of Shab-i-Barat celebrations during our period see Thevenot, Part III, p. 31.

festival. Sultan Firuz Tughlaq celebrated the festival for four days. On the approach of Shab-i-Barat, he used to collect loads of fireworks and crackers. Four giant piles of these materials were reserved for the Sultan; one was assigned to his brother, the Barbak; one was given to Malik Ali and another to Malik Yaqub. Some idea may be formed of these fireworks from the fact that thirty ass-loads of crackers alone were collected. On the successive nights of the 13th, the 14th and the 15th Sh'aban, these fireworks were lighted. The effect of the illumination, as the chronicler describes it, gave to the nights the look of broad daylight. Four big trays full of these fireworks, accompanied by musicians, were distributed to the crowds of people who gathered to watch the spectacle in Firuzabad. During the night of the 15th Sh'aban, gifts were sent to houses of charity and other charitable institutions²³. Khwas Khan, the general of Adil Khan, eldest son of Sher Shah, on his march against Islam Shah, spent the whole of this night in prayer. The Pathans ashamed of daylight treachery, took advantage of the preoccupation of their pious commander and the darkness of night and deserted to the enemy camp. For all his prayers, Khwas Khan lost the battle and poor Adil Khan his head²⁴. Jahangir was very forward on this occasion and used to celebrate the feast with brimming cups and drinking bouts²⁵. Shahjahan being more religious-minded spent the night in vigil and prayer²⁶.

PROPHET'S ANNIVERSARY: Though opinions differ, the Prophet is generally believed to have been born on the twelfth of the third month Rabi-ul-Awwal, and also that he departed this life on the same day. Therefore, the first twelve days of this month were celebrated by some as the *Maulud* or *milad-i-sharif*, "the noble birth" of the great Prophet and by others as the '*Urs* or nuptials of the exalted soul with

²³ Compare for details Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.), pp. 365-367.

²⁴ Vide Dorn, *History of the Afghans*.

²⁵ *Tuzuk*, I, 385.

²⁶ *Badshahnama*, I, 364.

the Supreme Being²⁷. Hence, the mixed feelings of joy and sorrow marked the celebration of this feast. In Gujrat, Sultan Muzaffar II started the practice of celebrating the nativity of the Prophet. During these days he used to offer cooked dishes and sweets in charity in the name of the Prophet and invite the learned men to a feast. He himself served them, and after they had finished their dinner he would like a humble attendant pour water on their hands for a wash²⁸. Sultan Mahmud II of Gujrat (1536-1554), from the first to the twelfth of Rabi-ul-Awwal, regularly celebrated the Prophet's birthday when all the Ulema, Shaikhs and learned men attended the Court and rehearsed the traditions. On the twelfth day, the Sultan played the role of the Sharif of Mecca on such an occasion in that assembly in passing an order that all those who were present to be entertained at a banquet²⁹. Akbar convened every year a *majlis-i-urs* on the twelfth of Rabi-ul-Awwal and the people were entertained at a general feast³⁰. In the reign of Shahjahan on the night of the twelfth an assembly (*majlis-i-milad*) was held and the groups of learned men and *huffaz* (those who have learnt by heart the whole of the Quran) devoted their time to reciting the Holy Book and describing the virtues, character and achievements of the Prophet. Shahjahan, out of the respect for the Prophet, used to sit on the ground with the Ulema. After the assembly was over he bestowed robes of honour on those assembled according to their status and trayful

²⁷ *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, English translation, p. 244. The death anniversary of the Prophet, is now called *Bara Wafat* (i.e., *bara*, "twelve", and *wafat*, "death"). For the details of the observance of this feast see *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 188-190. Compare a detailed description of the death anniversary of the Prophet celebrated in Bengal with illuminations in *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, p. 280. Also see Badauni (Lowe), II, 380.

²⁸ *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 121; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, English translation, p. 269.

²⁹ *Ibid*, trans., p. 269. The same continued during the reign of Sultan Mahmud III of Gujrat. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., pp. 243, 244.

³⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 520.

of sweetmeats were distributed to all³¹.

NAUROZ, the popular Iranian spring festival, was celebrated in all the big cities and provincial capitals till Aurangzib abolished it just in the beginning of his reign evidently on the ground of his religious susceptibilities. He substituted for it another imperial festivity which was to begin in the month of Ramzan and continued upto the Id-ul-Fitr, and hence was called *Nishat Afroz Jashn*, that which heightens the gaiety of the banquet³². Jahangir mentions the celebration of another Persian festival, *Ab-pashan* or *Gulab Pashi* (rose-water scattering), which was held on the 13th Tir in memory of a rainfall on this date that put an end to a famine. The people amused themselves with sprinkling rose-water over each other³³. This was perhaps an additional Iranian *holi* that amused the gay and carefree Emperor and his courtiers.

The very sight of the New Moon (*Hilal*) of almost every month was hailed with general festivities, 'when, all malice apart, the Moors (i.e. Muslims) embrace one another, and at the sight thereof make a jubilee, by firing of guns, blowing of trumpets, feasting and praying very devoutly'³⁴. The eclipse of Sun or Moon was deemed an hour of crisis for the great luminaries. Loud cries announced the commencement of an eclipse. The Muslims generally occupied themselves in prayer and

³¹ *Badshahnama*, I, 539; Part II, pp. 47, 48; II, 102, 151, 199, 303, 335, 420.

³² *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 14. For Nauroz celebrations during our period see *Tuzuk*, I, 48, 49, 206; Mandelslo, pp. 41, 42; De Laet, p. 99; Sir Thomas Roe, p. 124; William Hawkins ('Purchas his Pilgrimes'), III, 210. *Iqbalnama*, p. 8.

Elphinstone says, "The Nauroz, or vernal equinox, has always been a time of great rejoicing in these countries; but the Persians having ingrafted some fable about Ali, the patron of their religious sect, upon this ancient festival, it has fallen into disrepute with the Mussalmans of the opposite belief". *Account of Caubul*, I, 183.

³³ *Tuzuk*, I, 265, 295 and *note*, 379.

³⁴ Roe and Fryer, p. 304. For the details of this observance known as *Hilal* see Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations etc*, pp. 156, 157.

fasting till the shadow had passed over³⁵. This was perhaps an innovation in imitation of the bathing festival of Hindus on such occasions.

The festival of Khwaja Khizr, popularly called *Khizri*, was also celebrated³⁶. Besides, the anniversaries (*'Urs*) of some of the reputed saints accounted for great festive gatherings about whom more hereafter. Moreover, coronation ceremonies and birthday celebrations of kings were other festive occasions³⁷.

Section 2. Customs and Ceremonies.

The customs and ceremonies were neither uniform nor obligatory with all the sections of the Muslim population during the period under review. They varied in details according to localities and the notions of a particular family, their religious susceptibilities and social status. However, the birth of a child in a family was an event of great importance. If it be a male one, the joys were unbound³⁸. "In the case of any great man having a male child born to him, the feasting and banqueting are prolonged, with much music and sounding of instruments, and the relations assemble to present congratulations to the new-born child"³⁹.

³⁵ Roe and Fryer, p. 308. For details compare Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations etc.*, pp. 158, 159.

³⁶ *Tuzuk*, I, 351. The feast is held in honour of the mythical Khwaja Khizr, "the green one", a water spirit identified with the Prophet Elisha (See Sale's Koran xviii: 63). Some people on every Thursday in the year put a few flowers and some sugar in a leaf plate (*dona*) and launch it in the water in the name of Khwaja Khizr. The festival of the raft (*bera*) should be observed on the last Thursday of the Musalman year. The launching of the little boats is, in essence, a form of magic intended to carry away the evils which menace the community, and to secure abundant rainfall. Hindus also celebrate such a festivity in Bengal and elsewhere. For further details see *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 136, 137; Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations etc.*, pp. 154, 156.

³⁷ See an interesting account of Shahjahan's birthday celebrations in Mandelslo, p. 42.

³⁸ Compare *Baharistan*, I, 168.

³⁹ Manucci, III, 150.

When a son was born to Mirza Nathan, the author of *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, "It became an occasion of great pleasure to the friends and imperial officers. The trumpet of happy news was played and great rejoicings took place...dainty dishes were prepared and all the men were fed. Saffron was scattered on all and the otto of roses was sprinkled"⁴⁰. The Muslim call to prayer (*Azan*) was sounded in the ears of the newly born⁴¹. Next the child was named. The Muslims generally receive only one name and if there are more than one persons of the same name in a particular place, the name of the father or other designations were added for the sake of distinction⁴². "Six days after the birth the final feast is given; it lasts all night with great illuminations, music, dancing and fireworks"⁴³. After the period of ceremonial impurity (*sotak*) was over, the rite of '*Aqiqah* or sacrifice was performed⁴⁴. The rite of initiation, *Bismillah Khani*, "pronouncing the name of God", (also

⁴⁰ *Baharistan*, II, 682.

⁴¹ Compare *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 121. The *Azan* or *Bang*, the call to prayer, is uttered into the right ear and the *kalima* or Creed into the left. It is generally done by the most honoured of a child's male relatives, or by the Preacher or *Khatib*, or even by a boy who gets a reward for saying it. *Qanun-i-Islam*, p. 24.

⁴² "The Moores or Mussulmen have but one name, which they receive the second day after they are born, as followeth, viz : The father or nearest relation to the new born sends for the Mulva (*Maulavi*) or Priest, who shutting a book, where when opened, the Mulva takes the first letter in that leaf, and the meaning there of, calleth the child". *John Marshall in India*, ed. S.A. Khan, p. 405 ff. The naming of children is often done on the day of birth or on that day week. On the Muslim name and the manner of naming see *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 26-29, 33, 34.

⁴³ Manucci, III, 150. From the birth till the sixth or seventh day there is as much festivity as a family can afford. This feast is called *chhatti*, or the sixth day rite. See *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 35-37; Also see Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations etc.*, p. 212.

⁴⁴ '*Aqqa* properly means the hair of the new-born infant, but the term is applied by Metonymy to the shaving sacrifice. On tonsure (now called *mundan*) see *Encyclopædia of Religions and Ethics*, VI, 538. According to the Traditions the birth sacrifice is combined with the first shaving of the child's hair. On the '*Aqiqah* rite see *Mishkat*, trans. A.N. Matthews,

called *Maktab* ceremony or the ceremony of commencing the education of a child), was performed amidst the showers of acclamation and good wishes when the infant attained the age of four years, four months and four days⁴⁵. The circumcision (*khatna*, *sunnat*) was usually performed between the age of seven and twelve or fourteen, but it is lawful to do it seven days after birth. Sometimes the boys were circumcised before the *Bismillah Khani* ceremony as was the case with Mughal princes⁴⁶. Akbar prohibited the rite before the age of twelve, and it was then to be optional with the boy⁴⁷. Fryer says, "They circumcise the foreskin of the male, which is performed by a barber, at eight years of age; with feasting, and carrying the boy about in pomp, with music and great expressions of joy"⁴⁸. There were other ceremonies which were peculiar to various races, classes or castes⁴⁹.

Marriage⁵⁰ was the next eventful item. There was no age limit for a marriage though the Muslims generally favoured early marriages⁵¹, or

II, 515; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, I, 239; Rose's *Glossary*, III, 226, 227; *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 38-40.

⁴⁵ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, English translation, II, 424; *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, I, 519; *Amal-i-Saleh*, text, I, 31. Elphinstone says that after the initiation of the child "its studies are immediately laid aside, and not resumed till it is six or seven years old," *Account of Caubul*, I, 249.

⁴⁶ Compare *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 102 for attendant rejoicings on this occasion.

⁴⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 207.

⁴⁸ Roe and Fryer, p. 281.

⁴⁹ Compare for instance a ceremony described by Abul Fazl peculiar to the Mughals. When the child had just begun to stand on his legs, the father or the eldest male guardian was asked to strike him with his turban, so that the child fell down. *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, I, 396, 397.

⁵⁰ There is no place for celibacy in Islam. The Prophet frequently condemned it, for "When a Muslim marries he perfects half his religion". Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, *sub vocibus*, Celibacy and Marriage. Compare Badauni (Haig), III, 97, where an old woman was advised to marry in order to enable herself to attain spiritual knowledge. Also see Briggs' *Firishhta*, III, 158; Tavernier, II, 180.

⁵¹ Careri, Part III, p. 252.

the girls of tender years were married with men sufficiently grown up⁵². The marriage was primarily a family affair and the marrying couple had no say into the matter. The boys were not allowed to see the girls before they were lawfully married⁵³.

The details of marriage ceremonies are so diverse and complicated that a fuller treatment is not possible. Akbar's legislation on marriages seems to have taken no root in society, and therefore ignored in general. To sum up the main functions, the marriage negotiations between the two parties carried on by elderly people of the family or by others on their behalf (the office usually performed by eunuchs or Qawwals)⁵⁴, resulted into a betrothal ceremony (*rasm-i-namzad*). When Prince Khurram (afterwards Shahjahan) was betrothed to Arjumand Banu Begam, the daughter of Asaf Khan, Jahangir with his own hands put the ring on the finger of his prospective daughter-in-law, and the occasion was celebrated with great rejoicing⁵⁵. Usually *Pan*, or betel-leaves were distributed as a token of acceptance of the proposal by the members of bride's family⁵⁶. The first wedding gift (*Sachaq*) was sent on bridegroom's behalf with due ceremonies, generally accompanied with music⁵⁷. The *henna* or *mehndi* (*Lawsonia inermis*) with other presents and customary articles was brought to the bridegroom and the ceremony of *henna-bandi* was held

⁵² Peter Mundy, II, 180. However, the testimony of foreign travellers should be accepted with caution. Any generalization regarding early marriage among the Muslims will be wrong. Muslims in general did not marry their girls before puberty, though the evil had sprung up perhaps in imitation of the Hindus. Akbar's legislation indicates that the evil was prevalent in both the communities, particularly in urban area as early as the days of Akbar, if not long before.

⁵³ Compare Manucci, III, 152; *John Marshall in India*, ed. S. A. Khan, p. 404.

⁵⁴ Compare Badauni (Lowe), II, 59.

⁵⁵ *Amal-i-Saleh*, I, 44. The custom is also known as *mangni*, or "asking" the girl. Compare *Qanun-i-Islam*, p. 62.

⁵⁶ Compare *Baharistan*, I, 140.

⁵⁷ Compare *Tuzuk*, I, 159; II, 187, 188; *Badshahnama*, I, 453; Part II, pp. 266, 267; II, 137, 305.

when the bridegroom's hands and feet were dyed red with the *henna* by ladies concealed behind the curtains⁵⁸.

On the day of marriage the bridegroom "finely clad, with a gold network fixed to his head and falling down to his chest, being also decorated with various flowers according to the season"⁵⁹, started for the house of the bride on horse-back "accompanied by his kindred and friends having on each side two pages carrying umbrellas of painted paper"⁶⁰ with fireworks and music playing before him. Thus the procession passing through the main streets of the locality, reached the house of the bride. There the *nikah* (marriage contract) was performed by a Qazi or Mulla (Priest), and the marriage was registered in Qazi's book⁶¹. Strangely enough, according to the prevalent custom, the father of the bride was not present at the time of *nikah*⁶². As Muslim marriage is essentially a contract between the wedding parties, a dowry (*kabain*) was agreed upon which was payable to the bride on demand or in case of divorce. The formal consent of the bride was necessary before the *nikah* could be performed. It was obtained through an agent (*Vakil*) with two other persons who acted as witnesses⁶³. After feasts guests were entertained by singers and dancers. Many formalities were observed when the bride was first introduced to the bridegroom after the *nikah*, or at the time of the departure (*Rukhsat*) of the bride from the house of her parents and when she arrived at her new home.

The marriage festivities continued for days together, and the whole house on both the sides was "*en fete*". There was a great eagerness to marry in one's own caste or tribe⁶⁴. The ancient Hindu custom of carrying away the bride, by real or pretended capture (*Rakshasa* form

⁵⁸ *Tuzuk*, II, 202; *Badshahnama*, I, Part II, 267, 268; II, 305.

⁵⁹ Manucci, III, 150, 151.

⁶⁰ Mandelslo, p. 62 ff.

⁶¹ Pelsaert, p. 83.

⁶² *Badshahnama*, I, Part II, p. 270.

⁶³ *John Marshall in India*, ed. S.A. Khan, p. 404.

⁶⁴ Roe and Fryer, p. 279; Bernier, p. 259.

of marriage), was also prevalent as early as the days of Ibn Bututa, who witnessed such a ceremony during the marriage of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq's sister with a Bedouin Sayyid⁶⁵. The *mut'ah* marriage (a temporary arrangement) was in vogue only among the Shias and they loved children born of such a contract more than those of a *nikah* wedlock⁶⁶. Though Islam makes provision for divorce, such cases were few and far between⁶⁷.

Unlike birth and marriage, the death of a Musalman, like that of a social being everywhere and in all ages, was certainly a mournful occasion. The corpse was washed and wrapped in cloth (*kafan*). After saying prayers for the departed soul (*namaz-i-janaza*), the body was carried on shoulders to the grave accompanied by friends and relations on foot⁶⁸. All the way people recited *takbir* and *darud*⁶⁹. The royal funeral procession or that of men of high station, had all the insignia of royalty, pomp and show⁷⁰. No food was cooked in the house of the deceased person for three days⁷¹. Among the posthumous ceremonies much importance was attached to *Sayyūm* (the third day) also called the

⁶⁵ Compare Manucci, III, 151 for the observance of this custom during our period.

⁶⁶ Badauni (Lowe), II, 211. Such marriages are also known as *Sigha* or *nikah-i-muwaqqat*. For religious sanction compare Quran, iv : 28 ; *Mishkat*, ii, : 88, 90 ; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 174. *Mut'ah* literally means "Usufruct, enjoyment". Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 424.

⁶⁷ For further details see Thevenot, Part III, p. 22; Roe and Fryer, p. 281; P. Della Valle II, 31; Terry, p. 285; Pelsaert, pp. 81-84; Elphinstone, *Account of Caubul*, I, 237-239; Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations etc.*, p. 179 ff.

⁶⁸ Elliot and Dowson, VI, 172; Ovington, p. 245.

⁶⁹ *Amal-i-Saleh*, I, 163.

⁷⁰ *Baharistan*, I, 257 ; Manucci, III, 153. Muslim burial is a solemn and simple affair. Therefore, Aurangzib in his will forbade the observance of these innovations. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, V, 264.

⁷¹ See graphic descriptions of the death ceremonies in Mandelslo, p. 63 ; *John Marshall in India*, ed. S. A. Khan, pp. 404, 405; Roe and Fryer, p. 282 ; Terry, pp. 287, 288.

Ziarat ceremony, that is, visiting the grave on the third day after burial⁷². On this day Quran was read, and sweet-drink (*sharbet*), betel-leaves and food were distributed in the name of the deceased⁷³. On the fortieth (*chikillum*), the same ceremonies were repeated⁷⁴. Some persons observed the half-yearly and annual feasts⁷⁵. There were—as are today—differences of detail between the Sunni and Shia modes of burial⁷⁶.

Section 3. Social Etiquette and Obligations.

The manners and etiquette are an index of a nation's civilization and the Muslim society was far ahead in this respect. The subtle and delightful rules of etiquette were scrupulously followed and the nice distinctions of manners were carefully preserved. According to the testimony of foreign travellers, the Muslims were, generally, very civil and polite both towards friends and strangers. The visitors were received in a drawing room (*Diwan khana*)⁷⁷. They greeted each other with *Salam 'Alaikum* (Peace be upon you!) coupled with an inclination of the body⁷⁸. The inferiors would salute by raising their right hand to the

⁷² Barani in his elaborate eulogy of Balban's virtues, says that he used to visit in person the houses of the deceased Shaikhs and Sayyids on the day of the *Ziarat*, or third day (*Sayyum*) after death. Text, p. 47.

⁷³ Badauni, text, I, 248; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, trans., p. 294.

⁷⁴ Badauni (Lowe), II, 50.

⁷⁵ *Baharistan*, I, 213; Ovington, p. 245.

⁷⁶ Briggs' *Firishla*, IV, 525; Badauni (Lowe), II, 376, 377. For the details of the death ceremonies see *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 89-108. The custom of burying the dead is universal in Islam. It is said by commentators that God taught mankind to bury their dead when "God sent a crow to scratch the earth, to show him (Cain) how he might hide his brother's body". Quran v : 34. Cremation of the dead is strictly forbidden in Islam because the teaching of the Traditions is that a dead body is as fully conscious of the pain as a living one: "The breaking of the bones of a corpse is the same as doing it in life". *Mishkat*, V, ch. vi, part 2.

⁷⁷ De Laet, p. 91.

⁷⁸ Terry, p. 201. One person should say *as-Salam 'Alaikum* (Peace be upon you!) and the other would respond *wa 'Alaikum as-Salam* (And

head accompanied with a bow⁷⁹. Aurangzib abolished this un-Islamic mode of salutation which is restricted to the verbal pronouncement of the *salam* only⁸⁰. But this decree of the bigoted Emperor could not kill "Ram Ram" from Muslim lips as a sheer inoffensive courtesy to their equals in the other community. Long after the promulgation of this decree, one Afridi chief of Khaibar writes a letter to Hari Singh Khan-garawat, *ataliq* of Raja Ram Singh Kachchwaha's son Bishan Singh, greeting the Rajput chief thus: "*Biradar-i-man! az in janib Ram Ram*" (My brother! *Ram Ram* from this direction)⁸¹. This shows the liberal attitude of the average Muslim to meet the Hindu halfway in social courtesy. While greeting they never uncovered their heads⁸². As a rule, to come out in public bare-headed, bare-footed or improperly dressed, was deemed an atrocious indecency⁸³.

In their discourse they were modest and reserved. They did not make any gestures with their hands or head, nor talked aloud. They never contested a point⁸⁴. When they would whisper to any one, they covered their mouth with a *skarf* or handkerchief so that their breath might not offend the other person⁸⁵. The equals in their address used

also upon you be the peace!). Usually the comer or the person who first sees another should salute first, which is highly meritorious. No distinction is made of high and low though the inferiors are expected to take the initiative. For details see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. 'Salutation'.

⁷⁹ De Laet, p. 81.

⁸⁰ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, trans., p. 62. There was always a tussle between Muslim saints and sovereigns about it; the former refusing to prostrate themselves or to bow their heads in honour of the ruling authority and they generally invoked the wrath of the latter. *Baharistan*, I, 138; Badauni, text, I, 399, 404.

⁸¹ Letter of Dariya Khan Afridi, *Akhbarat*, Jaipur Archives, Diggi Collection.

⁸² Terry, p. 199.

⁸³ *Siyar*, trans., I, 34, 436.

⁸⁴ Careri, Part III, p. 252.

⁸⁵ Mandelslo, p. 64.

such affectionate terms as *gharib nawaz* (benefactor of the poor), *Bhai* (brother) or *Baba* (father)⁸⁶. To show their reverence and respect to their superiors they would say, "I eat your bread and salt", that is, I am your servant, I live by you⁸⁷. The greatest delight of a Muslim was to sit cross-legged and smoke tobacco or chew betels all day long⁸⁸. At the time of taking leave of a person a *bira* of *pan* (betel-leaf) was offered, which indicated that the person should now depart⁸⁹.

The table manners were very simple. The table (*dastar khwan* or *Safra*) was spread on the ground. They used no napkins, and it was considered bad manners to use left hand in eating or to lick the fingers while eating, which should be done just after finishing the meals⁹⁰.

⁸⁶ Terry, p. 199.

⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 200.

⁸⁸ Roe and Fryer, pp. 180, 181; Thevenot, Part III, p. 103; Peter Mundy, II, 96.

⁸⁹ Briggs' *Firishta*, III, 39; IV, 257; *Siyar*, trans., II, 34; Peter Mundy, II, 97; P. Della Valle, II, 226.

⁹⁰ De Laet, p. 92; Terry, p. 196.

It is *sunna* to lick fingers after eating. Even today a rigid modernized Mulla after eating with spoon and fork might be seen licking his clean fingers out of sheer habit acquired for additional piety in imitating the practice of the Prophet of God who ate with his fingers.

CHAPTER V

SOME IMPORTANT SECTS

India is a luxuriant field for the growth of schism and sects. Islam which had already broken up into the traditional seventy-three sects, got further disintegrated in Hindustan since its introduction into this country. The majority of the Muslim community was Sunni no doubt; but the people converted to Islam did not change all at once. Some of them retained their heretical practices, and formed themselves into new sects. Some of the sects in Indian Islam are peculiar to itself not to be found anywhere else. As early as the days of Sultan Alauddin Khilji we find the presence of sects following most abominable practices¹. Sultan Firuz Tughlaq tried to root out the evil but in vain². The author of *Dabistan-*

¹ Amir Khusrau writes about the *Ashob-i-Ibahat* of Alauddin's days: "It was discovered that among these shameless wretches, mothers had cohabited with their own sons and aunts (mother's sisters) with their nephews, that the father had taken his daughter for his bride and there had been connection between brothers and sisters". *Khazain-ul-Futuh*, text, p. 21; trans., p. 12. According to Richardson *Ibahat* means 'license, licentious men'. Hughes defines *Ibahiyah* as "A sect of libertines who consider all things lawful". *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 188.

² See *Fatuh-at-i-Firuz Shahi*, Elliot and Dowson, III, 378-380.

ul-Mazahib or "School of Religious Sects"³, writing about the middle of the seventeenth century, mentions a number of sects, their beliefs and practices, most of which are extremely abhorrent. The deplorable state of affairs betrays from the orthodox point of view a moral degradation of the Muslim community, and degeneration of Islam as a religion during the period under review⁴.

The Prophet of God has prophesied that "My Nation (*Ummat*) will be divided into seventy-three⁵ sects, and every one of these sects will go to hell except one". When asked 'which is that sect on which the sun of deliverance shall shine', he replied, '*Ahl-i-Sunnat wa Jama'at*'. Again questioned 'who are those', answered, 'those who tread on the path adopted by me and after me my companions proceed on that'⁶.

³ In the translation of the *Dabistan* by David Shea and A. Troyer the name of the book has been given as "The Dabistan or School of Manners". The title, though preserved out of a regard for Francis Gladwin, who first published the translation of a part of this work under this heading, is misleading and vague.

⁴ Compare the account of Sir Thomas Roe. He says, 'Among the Mughals there are many strict Muslims, many that follow Ali, his son-in-law, and other new risen prophets, which have their Xeriffs, mullas and priests, their mosques, religious votaries, washings, prayings, and ceremonies infinite; and for penitentiaries, no heresy in the world can show so strange examples, nor brag of such voluntary poverties, punishments, sufferings and chastisements as these; all which are esteemed holy men, but of mingled religion, not upright with their great Prophet'. p. 274.

⁵ Seventy-three proved a vague number and in the course of time the total number of the Muslim sects exceeded beyond that. The early Muslim heresiologists, Abdul Qahir al-Baghdadi and Shahrastani, to quote no others, were at very great pains to make up, in their enumeration of the sects sprung from Islam, the traditional number of seventy-three. According to Shahrastani the Magians were divided into seventy sects; the Jews into seventy-one; the Christians into seventy-two; and the Muslims into seventy-three. Among the sects there was always one to be saved. Vide *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, I, 323 note.

⁶ *Mishkat*, Book I, ch. VI, 2; *Dabistan*, p. 258. It is interesting to note that the Shias now challenge the very authority of this Tradition

The Sunnis can, and do, claim to be the orthodox sect indicated by Muhammad in the tradition (*hadis*) quoted above, for a Sunni is one who follows the *sunna* or practice and acts of the Prophet. To be brief, he acknowledges the first four khalifas⁷ as the rightful successors of the

and they quote another Tradition: 'The difference among my people (*ummat*) will be a blessing'. Thus they try to snatch away from Sunnis the claim of being the followers of official Islam.

⁷ They are Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and 'Ali. The first who took the title of Khalif was Abdullah better known by the name of Abu Bakr, "Father of the Virgin", so called because 'Aisha, his daughter, was the only one of Muhammad's wives who had not been before married to another man. He was also distinguished by the title of *Siddiq* or "the faithful witness", given to him because he, the first Muslim after the Prophet's preaching, attested the miracle of the Prophet's ascension to heaven (*miraj*). It was he who collected the verses of the Quran which were written upon separate leaves, into one volume, called *Al-Mushaf*, "the book by excellence", the original text of which was deposited in the hands of Hafsat, daughter of Umar and widow of Muhammad. After a reign of two years and three months, he died in the year 13 of the Hijra (634 A.D.).

Umar ibn al-Khattab, known under the title of *Faruq*, "the separator", so called by the Prophet because he had separated the head from the body of a Musalman who, not satisfied with the decision which the Prophet had given in a law-suit, came to submit the case to Umar's revision, succeeded Abu Bakr. Under Abu Bakr's khilafat, Umar acted as chief of justice, or chancellor. As Khalif he was the first who took the title of *Amir-ul-Muminin*, "Prince or commander of the faithful", which title devolved to all his successors. After the reign of ten years he was killed at the hands of a Persian slave (643 A.D.), who, having complained of his master's cruelty to him, did not receive the expected redress. Umar, a judge cruel but just, would not fix the right of succession upon his son, but wishing to keep the khilafat elective, named six persons, called *Ahl-i-Shura*, "People of Council", who should choose a khalif among themselves.

Usman bin Affan was called by his partisans *Zunnurain*, "the possessor of two lights", because he had married two daughters of the Prophet, Bakiah and Kulsum. Usman published the Quran such as it was in the original text, *Al-Mushaf*, and he caused all copies, differing from this one, to be suppressed. The reign of this Khalif terminated

Prophet; he accepts the "Six Books" of Traditions⁸ and attaches himself to one of the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence, viz., Hanafi, Shafai, Malaki and Hunbali. He considers the '*ijma*' of those four great Imams to be binding on him".

after eleven years by his violent death in an insurrection which took place against him in Egypt.

After Usman's death 'Ali was proclaimed Khalifa. He was cousin-german and son-in-law (husband of Fatima, the eldest daughter) of the Prophet and thus the head of the family of the Hashimites, who were distinguished by the name of "the house of the Prophet". Ali's title was *Asad-Ullah al-Ghalib*, "the Lion of God, the Victorious". Possessed of great learning, he composed several celebrated works in prose and verse. He was assassinated in Kufa in the year 40 of the Hijra (660 A.D.). See *Encyclopædia of Islam, sub vocibus*.

⁸ It is the belief of all Muslims, whether Sunnis or Shias, that in addition to the revelation contained in the Quran, the Prophet received the *Wahi ghair Matlu* (lit. "an unread revelation"), whereby he was enabled to give authoritative declarations on religious questions, either moral, ceremonial, or doctrinal. The Arabic words used for these traditions are *Hadis*, pl. *Ahadis*, "a saying"; and *Sunnah*, pl. *Sunan*, "a custom". The Traditions are the records of what the Prophet did (*Sunnat-ul-f'il*), what he enjoined (*Sunnat-ul-qual*), and that which was done in his presence and he did not forbid (*Sunnat-ul-taqir*). They also include the authoritative sayings and doings of the Companions of the Prophet. The following are the *Sihah-us-Sittah*, or "six correct" books, received by Sunni Muslims:—(1) Muhammad Isma'il *al-Bukhari*, A.H. 256. (2) Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, A.H. 261. (3) Abu 'Isa Muhammad *al-Tirmizi*, A.H. 279. (4) *Abu Daud* al-Sajistani, A.H. 275. (5) Abu Abdur Rahman *al-Nasai*, A.H. 303. (6) Abu Abdullah Muhammad *Ibn Majah*, A.H. 273. Compare Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 639, 643.

⁹ Compare *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 322 ff. *Ijma* literally means "collecting", or "assembling", and in Muslim divinity it expresses the unanimous consent of the Mujtahidin (learned doctors). Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 197. The four Imams of the Sunnis are the following:—(1) An-Numan ibn Sabit al-Kufi (A.H. 80-150; A.D. 699-767) commonly known as Imam *Abu Hanifa*. (2) Malik ibn Anas (A.H. 95-179; A.D. 713-795). (3) Muhammad ibn Idris al-Shafai (A.H. 150-204). (4) Abu Abdullah Ahmad as-Shaibani al-Marwazi *Ibn Hunbal* (A.H. 164-241; A.D. 780-855). For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam, sub vocibus*.

The phrase "Orthodox Muslims", means Sunnis and they far exceed in number the other sects. At present they predominate in all Muslim countries, except Persia. In Hindustan, during our period, the Sunnis of Hanafi school were in a predominant position¹⁰.

The Muslim reformers were almost exclusively Sunnis and reform means making people live a life of purity and virtue as interpreted by the Prophet through his teaching and practised by the Prophet himself.

The schism in Islam centres round the question of succession, that who should succeed the Prophet in his role and the temporal head of the community. This is the rock on which Islam broke up in twain—Shia and Sunni—and afterwards multiplied in number¹¹. The fact is well illustrated in the origin of Khawarij, literally meaning 'seceders', being the oldest sect of all¹². The Shias come next in number and importance. *Dabistan* states: "The Shia sect is particularly attached to the *Khilafat* and *Imamat* of Hazrat Ali and his descendants and hold that *Khilafat* does not pass beyond him and his off-springs. They say that *Imamat* is

¹⁰ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 314; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 449, 450.

¹¹ The points of faith in dispute among the Muslims are reducible to four general heads, called the four bases or great fundamental articles. The first relates to the attributes of God, and His unity consistent therewith; the second regards predestination and the justice thereof; the third concerns the promises and threats; the fourth treats history and reason, and also the mission of prophets, and the office of Imam. Over these knotty disputations Muslims are divided into different sects, which may be classed under two principal heads: the *orthodox* and the *heretical*; the former by a general name, are called *Sunnis*; the latter *Shias*. *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, I, 101 note; II, 324 note.

¹² *Kharaja*, 'to go out', came to mean rebel and then a special brand of theological rebel. Khawarij is a sect of Muslims who affirm that any man even pious women may be promoted to the dignity of *Khalifa*, even though he be not of the Quraish tribe (the tribe to which Muhammad belonged), provided he be elected by the Muslim nation. They acknowledge only Abu Bakr and Umar as true *Khalifas* and reject the *khilafat* of Usman and Ali. See for details Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 270; Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 379; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v.; Brockelmann, *History of the Islamic Peoples*, p. 70; A.S. Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, pp. 18, 35, 38.

not a question of expediency which hangs round the supreme authority of the people and the Imam should be elected by them; but the true decision is that which derives its origin and support from the pillars of the faith¹³. The Shias stoutly deny that the succession can be open to election, and in consequence they reject (and often denounce) the first three Khalifas as usurpers. Their particular views on this question of the succession led to the formation of strange religious doctrines which further widened the breach between themselves and the orthodox¹⁴. But the matter did not end there. Disputations among the Shias themselves about the office of Imam caused the party to split up into numerous sub-divisions, some say about seventy in number, each hostile to the others¹⁵.

¹³ *Dabistan*, text, p. 270.

¹⁴ For Shia beliefs and an account of that sect See *Ibid*, Shea and Troyer, II, 362 ff.

¹⁵ It is stated in the *Tazkira Mazahib-i-Haftad wa Sehganā* that the Shias are divided into twenty-two sects, each one calling another a *Kafir* (unbeliever). *Dabistan* also states: "Among the Shias regarding the priority of *Imamat* there is great deal of difference. For every Imam there is a discourse concerning his having been the first or the last and the greatest amount of disunity exists as to the exact number of the Imams". p. 270. The largest number of the Imams is twelve and the Shias who believe in twelve Imams are called *Isna-ashariyyas*, or "twelvers". The twelve Imams are as follows :—

1. Ali, Khalif and Imam, was murdered A.D. 661.
2. Hasan, eldest son of Ali, Khalif and Imam, poisoned A.D. 669.
3. Husain, the second son of Ali, killed in battle at Karbala A.D. 680.
4. Ali, surnamed *Zain-ul-Abidin*, eldest son of Husain, died A.D. 712.
5. Muhammad Bakr, son of Ali, poisoned A.D. 734.
6. J'afar Sadiq, son of Muhammad, died A.D. 765.
7. Isma'il, son of J'afar Sadiq; see hereafter the account of the Ismailia sect. Herbelot names, as the seventh Imam, Musa, the second son of J'afar, surnamed as "*Sabir*", "the patient", and "*amin*", "the faithful guardian". The latter died A.D. 799.
8. Ali Raza, son of Musa, poisoned A.D. 816.
9. Muhammad, son of Ali Raza, called also Abu J'afar Muhammad. died A.D. 835.

Ismailis were another heretical group and a prominent sub-division of the Shias. *Dabistan* gives the following account of this sect: 'Ismaili is a group of Shias owing allegiance to Isma'il, son of Imam J'affar Sadiq (the sixth Imam)¹⁶. They hold Isma'il as Imam because (according to them) Imam J'affar has entrusted *Imamat* to him. They do not act according to the Shariat and hold that they do not say whether God is or is not; world exists or is non-existent; God is all-powerful or otherwise and express similar opinions about the other attributes of God'¹⁷. As the Ismailis claimed to have been emancipated by their gospel from the obligation to observe the moral and religious code of Islam, they were believed by their detractors to be capable of every kind of wickedness and dissolute antinomianism and are accused of permitting marriages

10. Ali Askari, son of Muhammad, poisoned A.D. 868.

11. Hasan, son of Ali Askari, poisoned A.D. 873.

12. Muhammad, son of Hasan, surnamed *Mahdi*, "conductor, director"; he is supposed to be still living, and expected to appear as the rescuer of the Muslim world.

It may be remarked that, of the twelve Imams, seven died a violent death, and two in an unknown manner. See *Encyclopadia of Islam, sub vocibus*.

¹⁶ J'affar, surnamed *Sadiq*, "the just", was the eldest son of Muhammad Bakr, the fifth Imam. J'affar was born in Madina in the year of the Hijra 83, A.D. 702; he is acknowledged the sixth Imam, and of great authority in religious matters among the Musalmans. He died in his native town, under the Khilafat of Abu J'affar Al-Mansoor, the second Khalif of the Abbasides, in the year of the Hijra 148, A.D. 764, in his sixty-second year.

The two eldest of his seven sons were Isma'il and Musa. Isma'il, the elder of the two, having died during his father's life, the latter appointed Musa his successor, which gave rise to the contest above mentioned, and to several sects, as well as two great dynasties. The Fatimide Khalifs in Egypt are considered as descendants of the branch of Isma'il, called Ismailia, of Africa, but the Saffavide monarchs of Asia claim to derive their origin from Musa, and strenuously support his title to the seventh Imam. See *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 397. 398 and *note*.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, text, pp. 280, 281.

within the prohibited degrees and practising incest in their secret assemblies¹⁸. The Khojas¹⁹ and Bohras²⁰ are the other sub-divisions of the Ismaili sect. The Khojas in Kathiawad and Gujrat consisted mostly of Hindu converts to Islam by a saint named Sayyid Imamuddin, whose tomb at Karmatah (9 miles outside Ahmadabad) was their chief shrine. They paid idolatrous adoration to their spiritual guide, kissing his toes and heaping up gold and silver on his feet, while he sat in royal splendour behind a screen²¹. The Bohras supplied the best oversea traders and retail dealers in the western part of India²². They had been converted to Shiaism by a famous Muslim saint many centuries ago. But an independent Sultan of Gujrat made several of them Sunnis and thus introduced an element of discord. Since then, the Bohras have been split up into two sects, fighting bitterly over their religious

¹⁸ For details see *Encyclopædia of Islam*, II, 246; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, edited 1908, VII, 291; Elliot and Dowson, II, 571-575. The most noted leader of this sect was Hasan-i-Sabah (the Old Man of the Mountains), who founded the order of the Fidais or Assassins and concentrated his power at Alamut in Dailam (Northern Persia). Elliot and Dowson, II, 490.

¹⁹ The Fatimide or Ismaili Khalif Mustansir who reigned from 1036-1094 A.D. had two sons, Must'ali and Nizar. Their rival claims divided the sect into two rival branches, a Western (Egyptian or North African) and an Eastern (Persian and Syrian). The Bohras belong to the former or Must'aalian section, the Khojas or followers of Hasan-i-Sabah to the latter or Nizarian. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II, 199, 204.

²⁰ According to the traditional history of the sect, 'Abdulla, their first *Da'i*, Missionary or Apostle, is said to have landed at Cambay in A.H. 460 (1067 A.D.) and a second propagandist named Muhammad Ali to have arrived in 532 A.H. (1137 A.D.). Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, II, 226; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, I, 738, 739. Ibn Batuta met at Gandhar near Broach the wealthy Musalman ship-owner Nakhoda Ibrahim, the son of Khoja Bohra (Defremery, IV, 58). Both these sects were persecuted by Aurangzib. See Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, 99; V, 427, 433, 434.

²¹ Ibid, V, 434.

²² See Badauni (Haig), III, 83.

differences²³. The laws of marriage, divorce and inheritance etc. of the Bohras are opposed, in several points, to those of the Sunnis. They have also cut down the five daily prayers which are obligatory on all Sunnis practically to three. They pray also like all Shias with their arms straight by their side, while the Sunnis do so with the arms folded²⁴.

The Raushaniya, or "the enlightened", was a Sufi sect founded by an Afghan, Mian Bayazid Ansari, who was styled as *Pir-i-Raushan*, or the Enlightened Pir²⁵. The Akhund Darweza, a venerated Afghan saint, dubbed him in derision *Pir-i-Tarik*, the Darkened Pir, and the adherents of the sect were nick-named Tarikis²⁶. Bayazid Ansari was born in the Punjab and flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century. At first a devout Muslim, he afterwards abandoned the exterior practices of Islam and devoted himself to meditation. His sayings, several of which are quoted in the *Dabistan*, express sound reason, pure morality and fervent piety. In the spirit of his nation and time, and for self-defence, he took up arms against the Mughals. His history and that of his sons is carried to the middle of the seventeenth century. It is interesting to note that Mian Bayazid composed a great number of works in four languages, viz., Arabic, Persian, *Pashto* and Hindi (i.e. Sanskrit) and the gospel of this sect, *Khair-ul-Biyan*, is to be found in all the four languages²⁷.

²³ Qazi Abdul Wahhab belonged to this clan. See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, I, 235-241; Khafi Khan, II, 216, 217. Compare Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, 99.

²⁴ Enthoven, *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, II, 226; Also see *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, Part II, pp. 24-57; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, II, 549; Sherring, *Hindu Castes and Tribes*, II, 183. The Bohras throughout India numbered 129,473 in 1881.

²⁵ Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 70.

²⁶ Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 46 note. Akbar who was very fond of word-play was delighted with the antithetical retort and his historians were only too ready to repeat and ring the changes upon it.

²⁷ For details see *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 670, 709 and *passim*; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 608, 609, 619, 637, 638, 649; Badauni, Lowe, II, 357, 360, 361, 362, 366, 368, 393, 401; A monograph on the Raushaniya sect by Dr. Leyden in the XI Vol. *Asiatic Researches*; An

Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi*, also called *Tauhid-i-Ilahi* (the Divine Monotheism), has been treated in the *Dabistan* as a sect of Islam under four heads: Firstly, the appearance of *Khalifat-ul-Allah*; secondly, discussions on religions; thirdly, virtues of the stars; and lastly, the code of this order or the sayings of 'Arsh Ashiyani Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar²⁸. Much has been said about this Sufi order, but it should be noted that *Din-i-Ilahi* did not die out all at once and disappeared with Akbar. Jahangir continued the tradition of his father and enrolled disciples (*chelas*)²⁹. Shahjahan bestowed upon Adil Khan *Shabih* (picture) and '*Ahadnama* (deed of contract) with an impression of his five fingers (*Panja*) on a request made by the latter³⁰. Even in the days of Aurangzib a man from Bengal travelled all along on foot to his court to be enrolled as a *chela*³¹. "The creed of this class exists in our days, although the name has not survived"³².

The *Dabistan* speaks of a class among the Hindus who styled themselves Musalman Sufis. Apparently they were the Hindu converts to the fold of Islam though they retained many features of their old belief. They shared in common several tenets and opinions with the Sufis. They pretended to be divided into fourteen sects. They alleged that they did not owe anything to the teachings of the Prophet; on the contrary, he had borrowed many excellences from them³³.

This group of the so-called Muslim Sufis was very numerous in Hindustan during the period under review. Among the most celebrated of them, in the first line, were the Madariyas. The Madariyas, like the Sanyasis, rubbed ashes (*blasma*) on their body, used *bhang* excessively

article by Dr. I. H. Qureshi in the *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1941, pp. 364 ff.; *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, III, ch. IX, p. 26 ff.

²⁸ For an account of this sect see *Ibid*, Shea and Troyer, III, ch. X, p. 49 ff; *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 369-371; Badauni, Lowe, II, 314.

²⁹ *Tuzuk*, I, 60, 61; II, 181; *Baharistan*, I, 74.

³⁰ *Badshahnama*, I, Part II, pp. 167, 174.

³¹ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, text, pp. 333, 334.

³² Compare *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, I, clxxxiv.

³³ *Ibid*, text, p. 213.

and always sat before a fire. They put on fetters round their necks, had black³⁴ flags and wore black turbans. They did not observe the fasts and prayers enjoined by Islam. According to them, when the Prophet was elevated to the skies (*m'iraj*)³⁵, and when he reached Heaven he found its gate as narrow as the eye of a needle. Then the angel Gabriel³⁶ told the Prophet to invoke the help of Madar and say "Dam Madar!"³⁷ The Prophet acted accordingly, the gate widened and he entered Heaven³⁸. The Madariyas are held to be the followers of Shaikh Badiuddin³⁹ better known as Shah Madar

³⁴ Black is the colour of the Sunnis. This supports Professor Wilson's statement, agreeing with the *Dabistan*, that the Madariyas are Sunnis. Vide *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 223 note; text, p. 215.

³⁵ Literally "An ascent", Muhammad's supposed journey to heaven; called also *Isra*, "the nocturnal journey". It is said to have taken place in the twelfth year of the Prophet's mission, in the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal. According to Abdul Haq, there are some divines who regard this miraculous event as a mere vision, but, he adds, the majority hold it to be a physical journey. For further details see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 351, 352.

³⁶ The angelic being who is supposed to have been the medium of the revelation of the Quran to Muhammad. He is mentioned only twice in the Quran by name. Ibid, s.v.

³⁷ "The breath of Madar", a particular ejaculation of this sect. See *Infra*.

³⁸ *Dabistan*, text, p. 214.

³⁹ Very conflicting and legendary account of Shah Madar is available in the writings of oriental scholars. He is said to have lived for 383 years, even more, who owed his longevity to the power of keeping his breath. He is supposed by some to be still alive (whence his name Zinda Shah Madar). But Abdur Rahman Chishti, the reputed author of *Mirat-ul-Asrar* and *Aurad-i-Chishtiya* in his *Mirat-i-Madari* (Life of Shah Madar), a work compiled with great labour and after much search, gives a very sober account of the saint. According to the author, Shah Madar belonged to a Jewish family of Halab (Aleppo), where he was born in A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315). He died at Makanpur on Thursday, 18th Jamadi-ul-Awwal (now called the month of Madar), A.H. 840 (A.D. 1436) at the age of 125 years. For further details see *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*,

and regard themselves as Sunnis. Once in a year Muslims from all parts of the country flock to Makanpur (in U.P.), the burial place of Shah Madar⁴⁰. Women who enter his shrine are said to be seized by violent pain as though they were being burnt alive⁴¹.

The Jalaliyan, the followers of Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari (1307-1374 A.D.)⁴², a disciple of Bahawal Haq, the Suhrawardi saint of Multan, whose shrine is at Uch in the Bahawalpur State, professed to be Shias. As the Madariyas were Sunnis, these two sects reviled each other. The members of this sect did not observe fasts and prayers and they never cared for the prescribed practices of piety of the Sufis. They used *bhang* and are said to be eaters of snakes and scorpions. When the adepts among them chanced to see a snake, they used to put it whole into their mouth and swallow it up, saying that it was the fish of Ali; in eating a scorpion they remarked that it was the prawn of Ali; and the worms were designated as the crabs of that holy personage. Like the Madariyas, the Jalaliyan went about almost naked even in the severest cold. They sat before a fire, like the Madariyas, but did not wear matted hair. They frequently shaved four parts of their body and led a wandering life⁴³. The *Dabistan* states: "Their master (*Pir*)

p. 139; J'affar Sharif, *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 195, 196, 289, 290; Rose's *Glossary*, II, 160 ff.

⁴⁰ *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, text, pp. 40, 41; *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 225, 226; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarret, III, 370.

⁴¹ Compare Rose's *Glossary*, III, 44.

⁴² He is sometimes confounded with Shaikh Jalal Jahanian Jahangasht of Multan. See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 193, 371.

⁴³ *Dabistan*, text, p. 215. J'affar Sharif gives the following account of the Jalaliyan: "They (the Jalaliyan) wear a necklace of fine wool (*pashm*), or of threads of various colours, a neckband (*guluband*), and a small loin-cloth (*lung*, *langoti*), and carry a club (*sonta*). They have a scar on the right upper arm made by cautery with a lighted cloth match at initiation. They beg in bazars, and if they do not receive alms brand themselves with a match of this kind, while others gain their ends by noise and uproar. In the Panjab, their headquarters, they give little heed to

looks every day for a new connexion with a woman; whenever he knows of a fine girl among his disciples, he orders trumpets to be blown, goes on horse-back, and betaking himself to their house, uses his own discretion with the girl, whom he now and then takes to his own house, but never marries"⁴⁴.

There was another sect of the people who called themselves Be-qaid and Benawa⁴⁵. They took nothing from anybody beyond the required food and drink; and for their indispensable clothing they wore *Khirqā*

prayer, smoke quantities of hemp, eat snakes and scorpions, shave their heads, moustaches, and eyebrows, leaving only a scalp-lock (*choti*) on the right side. They are branded with a special mark on the right shoulder, wear glass armlets, a woollen cord round their necks, a cloth on their heads, and are vagabonds with no fixed dwelling-place". *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 291, 292. Also see Rose's *Glossary*, I, 552 ff.; II, 350; *Census Report*, Punjab, 1891, I, 195 ff.

⁴⁴ *Dabistan*, text, p. 215. This was perhaps according to the practice of Ali to become a bride-groom every evening. Among the Hindus the disciples of Vallabbacharan sect are said to offer their wives after marriage to the *Guru* for this purpose, they being allowed to enjoy "*prasad*" only. When the author of the *Dabistan* asked one of the Jalalis: "Hamid Muhammad, your master, does he take the daughter of one of his disciples without marrying her?" He answered: "The Safavian kings take wives, daughters, and sons of their disciples, who are highly pleased with it, why should not Hamid Muhammad, who is truly the Khalif (substitute) of Ali, do the same?" He further adds: "This act is a sign of sovereignty, and a prerogative of the family of the Prophet". *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 228.

⁴⁵ The Be-qaid (the Emancipated, the Liberated) and the Benawa (without provisions, destitute) are treated in the *Dabistan* as one sect. But later on they branched off into two separate sects; one is called Benawa and the other Azad. Benawa is one of the most prominent of the *Be-Shara* or unorthodox orders of Islam, and are said to be the followers of Khwaja Hasan Basri. The term is sometimes apparently applied in a loose manner to Qadiri and Chishti faqirs. Azad, "free", are also called *majzub* as opposed to *Salik*. Azads hold that the *Shara* or ritual law is only for the masses, not for those who have attained *m'arifat* or full comprehension of the Godhead. See Rose's *Glossary*, II, 80, 528; *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 168, 289, 295.

(patched frock) sewn out of the shreds collected from the streets. When they asked anything from any person they used abusive language and called him bad names. The *Dabistan* states: "They hold that God is soul and Muhammad is body; his four Companions form two hands and two feet and *dam madar*, that is, Madar, is the breath and spirit of God". They took various kinds of intoxicants and believed in the unity of the Godhead. Some of them devoted themselves to religious austerities⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ For an account of this sect see *Dabistan*, text, p. 216. Manucci mentions: "...in the Mogul kingdom there are different kinds of poor, otherwise called *faqires* (*faqirs*), who ask alms. The more important among these are the bequedes (*Bequids*)—that is to say, 'liberated'; while others are *beters* (be-tars)—that is to say 'fearless'.

"The first are very rude in manner, using great liberty in speech, fearing no one and paying no one respect, whatever his rank, using much abusive language and scandalous words, or polite sayings, just as it pleases them. These men often enter boldly into the houses of great men, and if the door-keepers stop them from going in, they apply to the whole family much abusive language, sparing neither master nor mistress, nor sons, nor grand-children, nor ancestors, coupling their names with the coarsest abuse. In spite of this the people of the house show no anger, but secure their departure by soft words, giving them some alms and begging their pardon. If the *faqirs* are allowed entrance they march straight to where the master is and seat themselves close to him, although dirty, their feet all over mud, and clad in filthy rags. Without any deference or civility of speech, they take the tobacco-pipe out of the master's mouth and place it in their own. With much respect the master returns thanks for this honour, and secures the man's departure by some money. They are so contumacious and insolent that sometimes they are not satisfied with what they get, and it is necessary to give them all thing demanded. Never do they beg you to give for the love of God, imagining that they would anger God by asking alms in His name, alms being such a petty thing in comparison with the greatness of God. Everyone tries to find a means of satisfying them without showing any hesitation, for fear of some curse.

"The *beters* (be-tars) are *faqirs* who ask for alms with a sharp knife in their hand. They place themselves in front of a shop, and begin to shout for alms to be given them, pointing at what they want. When the shop-keeper refuses to give a man what he asks for, he wounds himself

The Kakans of Kashmir were the followers of Ibrahim Kakak, said to be a contemporary of Jahangir⁴⁷. It is said that Ibrahim Kakak used to make a person lose his senses by having a look on him with the result that he would go after him. His disciples too were credited with this art. He attached to himself a great number of disciples, both Hindus and Muslims, but he never induced them to change their religion. He neither praised Muslims nor condemned Hindus, and never uttered the names of the Muslim prophets and Hindu incarnate gods (*Avatars*), except Ram and Allah. He never slept at night, nor did his disciples, who sat back to back uptill morn. They followed celibacy as a rule, believed in the unity of the Divine Being and used *bhāng* excessively. Once a person asked Ibrahim Kakak not to drink *bhāng* because "the *bhāng*-drinkers shall not pass over the Bridge of Death (*Pul-i-Sirat*)"⁴⁸. Kakak replied: "Great is the number of *bhāng*-drinkers; let us, on this side of the Bridge, build a town and call it *Bhāngpur*, and not think of passing the Bridge"⁴⁹.

The Piyara Panthian⁵⁰ were associated with Baba Piyara⁵¹. While

on-the arms or on the head or on the legs, and, taking the blood, throws it into the shop as a sign of his curse. Ordinarily these faqirs ask for alms at the shop of the *baniyas*, who are very timid, and rather than see such wounds, give them what they ask, usually some money". Vol. I, 145, 146.

⁴⁷ Perhaps he belonged to the Kak tribe of Kashmir who were staunch Shias. See *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 763 and *note*, 1250.

⁴⁸ *Sirat*, literally "A road". In Muslim traditions and other writings the term is used for the *bridge* across the infernal fire, which is described as finer than a hair and sharper than a sword, and is beset on each side with briars and hooked thorns. The righteous will pass over it with the swiftness of lightning, but the wicked will soon miss their footing and will fall into the fire of hell. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 595.

⁴⁹ *Dabistan*, text, p. 216; Shea and Troyer, II, 229, 230.

⁵⁰ *Panthi* is derived from the Sanskrit "*Panthin*", "who goes the road".

⁵¹ Perhaps he is Shaikh Piyara of Bengal who received training under Shaikh Salim Chishti. According to Badauni he was "a man distracted with the grief of longing after God". He was very famous in Bengal. See Badauni, Haig, III, 21.

out for begging they stood before a house or a shop; they looked at nothing, said nothing and never asked anything. They accepted what was given and went away when nothing was offered⁵². They took no notice of the Musalmans though they styled themselves as such⁵³.

It is interesting to note that even the followers of these sects were not above communalism. The *Dabistan* states that once an army of naked Madaris and Jalalis came to a place of pilgrimage of the Hindus where Sanyasis had collected in large numbers. The Muslim sectaries having brought a cow, wanted to kill it. The Sanyasis bought the cow from them. They came a second time with another cow. The Sanyasis again purchased it. They became insolent and counting on their number brought a third cow and killed it. The Sanyasis, indignant at this, attacked them and a battle ensued in which the Sanyasis got the upper hand and killed several hundred of the Jalalis and Madaris⁵⁴.

⁵² This was exactly the practice of begging by the Buddhist *bhikshus* as enjoined by their rules of conduct (*śil*).

⁵³ *Dabistan*, text, p. 218.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, Shea and Troyer, II, 232.

CHAPTER VI

INDIANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY

Section 1. Muslim Community Indianized.

Whatever might be the truth in the assertion that the descendants of foreign Muslim conquerors, even after a domicile of centuries in Hindustan retain the extra-Indian direction of their hearts and they form a distinct nation separate from the rest of the Indian population, a dispassionate study of the Muslim community, during the period under review, reveals that the Muslims became Indianized in this vast sub-continent judged from their day-to-day life, though an allowance might be made for their sentimental leanings towards Arabicism. The foregoing pages have made it sufficiently clear that the Muslims of Hindustan were different from their co-religionists in the other parts of the world outside India¹. The Muslims regarded Hindustan as their homeland (*watan*) and were unwilling to cross the Hindu Kush Range

¹ Mandelslo who had travelled extensively nearly all over the Muslim world, observes: "... we shall ... treat of the manner of life of the Mahumetans of the Indies, which is much different from that of the Turks and Persians". p. 62.

or the Helmand river, beyond which lay Turan and Iran, whereas Kabul was as good as Lahore to them. The first dawn of home patriotism on the part of Indian Muslims is found in Amir Khusrau, who bore the title of '*Tuli-i-Hind*' (Parrot of India). He was proud of India and of being an Indian. It was the dream of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq to make India the home of Muslims. He extended his lavish patronage to foreign Muslim settlers in India and discouraged their return home. He ordered that no foreigner should be called *Gharib* (a stranger) but they were designated as *Aziz* (a relation)². Some Muslim immigrants who had stayed in Hindustan for long, wanted to go back. The news was conveyed to the Sultan and he ordered their execution!³ Later on even the Afghans, domiciled in India, not to speak of Hindustani Musalmans, had as much repugnance to cross the Indus like the Hindus, though not on account of the same superstition. An expedition to Kabul in the reign of Akbar was abandoned mainly because the soldiers' "love for India" acted as a barrier in entering into the Trans-Indus regions⁴. Khusrau's old retainers, Afghans and Indians, deserted him on the bank of the Chenab and "doubled back like foxes into Hindustan" when he was advised by Husain Beg to go to Kabul to secure help in the fight against his father, Jahangir, over the Lordship of Hindustan⁵. After having been beaten during the war of succession at Samugarh Dara fled away through Multan and Sindh. He marched further down the Indus and reached a place fifty miles south of Bhakkar where begins the road to Persia *via* Qandahar. The fate of Humayun seemed to dog the footsteps of the unhappy Dara. But Humayun was fortunate enough in not having Hindustan-born wives and retainers reluctant to trust themselves to the power of the Persians⁶. Again, after the defeat at Deorai, Dara took the road to Qandahar. But on the eastern bank of

² Compare Ibn Batuta, Urdu trans., II, 4, 112, 179, 216.

³ Ibid, p. 157.

⁴ Compare *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 522.

⁵ Compare *Tuzuk*, I, 66.

⁶ Compare Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, I, 199.

the Indus even Firuz Mewati, who had so long followed the fortunes of Dara with rare constancy and fidelity, took leave of the prince⁷. Dara's wife Nadira Banu and the other women of his harem shuddered at the idea of going to Iran and to be dragged into the harem of the licentious Shah of Persia⁸. The Persians laughed at the attempt of Indian-born Muslims to dabble in Persian poetry. Poet *Shaida* bitterly resented this superiority complex of the Iranians, and upheld the claim of India as the most blessed place, where Adam first set his foot after his expulsion from Paradise!⁹

Behind the rampart of social exclusiveness, the forces of adjustment and amalgamation were at work and the fusion of the Hindus and Muslims both in the realm of thought and that of action had been slowly gaining ground. Ibn Batuta, a *maghribi* (western) Musalman traveller as early as the fourteenth century of the Christian era, notices the peculiarities of the Indian Muslim life with amusing disapproval. In the province of Thatta (Sindh), Multan and specially at Banaras the Brahmins used to teach the tenets of their religion in their established schools and admirers and students both Hindu and Muslim flocked to them from great distances¹⁰. A bigoted Muslim Sultan like Firuz Tughlaq, might flay alive a Brahmin under whose influences Hindu idols were worshipped by some Musalmans; but the official ban could not long hold back the natural flow of the process of assimilation when the people of different creeds and communities inhabit the same land¹¹.

⁷ Ibid, p. 219.

⁸ Bernier, p. 94.

⁹ Fatehpuri, *Mirat-ul-Khayal*, pp. 109-111.

¹⁰ Compare *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, pp. 51, 52.

¹¹ *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Elliot and Dowson, III, 365. 'The worship of idols and Hindu Deities continued and is not uncommon even to this day specially in the rural parts of the country. See *Tuzuk*, II, 224; *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, Eng. trans., pp. 18, 19; R.C. Temple, "Muhammadan Belief in Hindu Superstition", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, 1881, pp. 371-372. A good example of this is to be found in the *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi* where it is stated: "In between these (territories of Khasia and Kachar) there was another

Section 2. Indian Customs and Manners adopted by Muslims.

The otherwise simple and colourless Muslim society acquired in the course of time Indian features making it more lively and colourful. The Hindu custom of *Jauhar*¹² was frequently resorted to by the Muslims as the last weapon to save the honour of their family. On one occasion Mirza Nathan, author of *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, gave Saadat Khan the following directions: "You are to go and stay at the gate of the *mahal* (harem). As soon as you hear that I have attained martyrdom in the field, perform the rites of *Jauhar*, with all the inmates of the *mahal*, big and small, and take your journey to the kingdom of Heaven with eternal honour"¹³. They also just like Rajputs killed their women and children before embarking upon a desperate enterprise¹⁴. The practice of taking out a man from his bed before he breathes his last was also common among Muslims¹⁵. On the death of her husband the Muslim woman, in imitation of her Hindu sister, gave up wearing of certain ornaments and

group of people known by the name of Mughals. It is reported that they were (really) Mughals. During the reign of Amir Taymur Sahib Qiran who came up to this extremity, these people were left to protect the country and he (Timur) returned to the capital of Iraq. They lived in that way from generation to generation till they reached this stage. Although the language of these people was akin to the language of the Kacharies, they were all white-skinned and put on big turbans on their heads. They put on their ears big earrings of brass called *tunkal*, weighing half a *powa*, and even one *powa* ($\frac{1}{4}$ seer). They eat all sorts of animals and vegetables that are available in the world". *Baharistan*, I, 324, 325. These might be remnants of Mughal soldiery of Humayun flying before Sher Shah's Pathans.

¹² The ceremony of *Jauhar* was an awful rite of the Indians even to the west of the Indus from the time of Alexander the Great. It is the custom of immolation of every female of their family at the loss of a battle or the capture of the city invariably practised by the Rajputs. See Tod's *Rajasthan*, I, ch. XXIV; Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 409.

¹³ *Baharistan*, II, 594, 595. Also see Ibid, I, 439, 440; II, 596, 599.

¹⁴ Ibid, I, 141, 193, 440; *Siyar*, trans., I, 232, 268.

¹⁵ *Baharistan*, II, 481. It happened with the author himself.

coloured clothes¹⁶. The shaving of head, beard and moustaches on the death of a near relation by men was introduced by Akbar and it got some currency with the Muslims¹⁷. The caste system and class consciousness had also taken root in the ranks of the Muslim community¹⁸. Notwithstanding the efforts of an Aurangzeb, Muslims had absorbed the broad features of Hindu society. He writes sarcastically to his own son, Prince Azim-ush-Shan, who, on the occasion of 'Holi', had dressed after the Indian fashion: "A saffron-coloured helmet on thy head, a red garment on thy shoulder, thy venerable age verging on forty-six years; hurrah on thy beard and moustache!"¹⁹. Hindi found its way in Muslim life since the time of Sultan Alaauddin Khilji²⁰. The hymns were composed after the Indian manner²¹. The Sufis sang ecstatic songs in Hindi and fell into trances²². Shaikh Taqiuddin Waiz used to recite from the pulpit some verses from a *masnavi* in the Hindi language relating the loves of Lurak and Chanda, a lover and his mistress, and the people used to be strangely influenced by hearing them. When asked what was the reason in selecting that Hindi *masnavi*, the Shaikh replied: "The whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation for devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the verses (*ayat*) of the Quran. Moreover, by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive"²³. A very important result of this cultural contact was the birth of a common language of the masses termed as *Khari-boli* (*Hindustani*)²⁴. The Muslims were devoted to Indian music

¹⁶ *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 104.

¹⁷ *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 1153; Badauni, Lowe, II, 402.

¹⁸ Bernier, p. 259; Manucci, II, 453; *Baharistan*, I, 440.

¹⁹ Compare *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 34.

²⁰ For the patronage of Hindi language during our period compare Badauni (Haig), III, 90.

²¹ *Ibid*, III, 122, 126.

²² *Ibid*, p. 106.

²³ *Ibid*, text, I, 250.

²⁴ "The language of this empire, I mean the vulgar, bears the name of it, and is called *Indostan* (*Italics mine*); it hath much affinity with the

and cultivated it scrupulously²⁵. Even Aurangzib had a liking for it though, on account of Islamic injunctions, he gave up the hearing of music altogether²⁶.

The lower orders of Muslim society joined the religious sects even outside the fold of Islam formulated by Hindu saints. By far the most important of these sects was a group of ascetics who were known as Vairagis²⁷. They denounced the world and their worship was the praise of Vishnu²⁸ and the other incarnate gods like Rama and Krishna. They always put around their necks rosaries of 'Tulsi'²⁹. Muslims and Hindus alike could join this fraternity. They held that '*Bismillah*' means Vishnu and hence Muslims also worship him indirectly. Kabir, the famous monotheist, was a Vairagi. The Vairagis did not believe in running away from the world like the Sanyasis. According to them salvation (*muktie*) could be obtained only by repeating the name of Vishnu. They regarded their path as different from the Vedas and the Quran and had no business with the Hindus and the Musalmans. A great majority of the Muslims had joined this sect and respectable men like Mirza Saleh and Mirza Haider had become Vairagis³⁰. The sect of Vishnavis was also very popular with the Muslims. They hurt no living being and avoided fellowship with men of another creed whether Hindu or Muslim. They prayed five times a day with their faces towards the east, and repeated the names of God, all the angels and the prophets. They buried their dead and as far as possible they conferred benefits upon others³¹. The

Persian and Arabian tongues, and more easy to be pronounced than the other; The Persian then is spoken as their most quaint and court tongue". Terry, p. 217.

²⁵ *Tuzuk*, II, 86; *Badshahnama*, II, 5; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 252.

²⁶ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 313.

²⁷ From Sanskrit *Vairagya*, "devoid of passion".

²⁸ One of the Hindu Trinity: Brahma, Vishnu, Mahadeo.

²⁹ A small shrub held in veneration by the Hindus, "holy basil".

³⁰ *Dabistan*, text, pp. 200-203. Also see *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, text, p. 22; Rose's *Glossary*, II, 35-38.

³¹ *Dabistan*, text, p. 218. Also see Rose's *Glossary*, II, 110-114. The Vishnavis are now exclusively Hindus of lower class.

creed of Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion, was also adopted by some Musalmans³².

Section 3. Popular Superstitions.

The heterodoxy in Islam was only equalled by superstitious beliefs which permeated the whole of the Muslim community during our period. Astrology³³ had taken possession of the Muslim mind since the time of Khalif Mansur to such an extent that every good family had an astrologer of its own³⁴. Bernier remarks: "The majority of Asiatics are so infatuated in favour of being guided by the signs of the heavens, that, according to their phraseology, no circumstance can happen below, which is not written above. In every enterprise they consult their astrologers. When two armies have completed every preparation for battle, no consideration can induce the generals to commence the engagement until the '*Sahet*'³⁵ be performed. In like manner no commanding officer is nominated, no marriage takes place, and no journey is undertaken, without consulting Monsieur the Astrologer. Their advice is considered absolutely necessary even on the most trifling occasion; as the proposed purchase of a slave, or the first wearing of new

³² *Tuzuk*, I, 72.

³³ Arabic '*Ilm-un-nujum*'. Qatadah says, referring to the Quran, that God has created stars for three uses: (i) as an ornament to the heavens (lxvii : 5); (ii) to stone the Devil with (lxvii : 5); and (iii) to direct travellers through the forests and on the sea (xv : 16). Muhammad condemns those who study the stars for any other purpose (*Mishkat*, XXI, ch. III, part iii), and consequently the science of Astrology is not considered lawful in Islam. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 25.

³⁴ Manucci adds: "Nevertheless, there is not a great man who has not in his house an astrologer, if it be only to know the right hour for leaving his house on any business, even down to when to put on a new cloak.... Both Moguls and Hindus are so credulous that they put faith in all that these men choose to tell them". Vol. I, 212, 213.

³⁵ More correctly *Sa'it*, i.e., hour, meaning thereby when the time was declared to be auspicious.

clothes”³⁶. Moreover, the poesies of Hafiz of Shiraz were consulted on futurity, with a variety of rites and ceremonies, all over Persia and India, just as were the *Sortes Virgilia* two hundred years after Augustus³⁷. The Muslims were past-masters in the exercise of witchcraft and great faith was reposed in its influence³⁸. The author of *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, Mirza Nathan, records an incident when Mir Shams who was an expert in the science of necromancy, in order to gain his ends, began to incant magic spells against Shaikh Kamal with the result that lumps of blood started coming out of Shaikh’s mouth and he died within a week. Mir Shams then directed his spells against the author himself. He was also affected by it seriously. Therefore, he wrote about it to a Darvesh at Dacca, Mian ‘Aqil Muhammad. Mian ‘Aqil prayed for Mirza Nathan’s recovery from Dacca and exercised his magical influence. The mediums of two necromancers began to fight each other and at last the medium of Mian ‘Aqil overpowered the medium of Mir Shams and drove it back to the Mir. After this Mir Shams was attacked by a serious disease and

³⁶ Bernier, p. 161. Also see Monserrate, p. 9; Terry, p. 223; Careri, Part III, p. 251. The Mughal forces did not fight Ahmad Shah Abdali’s army on the first day as it was not auspicious. *Siyar*, trans., III, 258. Similar instances are not wanting.

³⁷ The verses from the works of Hafiz were considered “to be so many unerring oracles of futurity, and the intelligible tongue of the invisible one”. Ibid, trans., I, 452. Omens by consultation of a verse taken by random from the Quran or the works of Hafiz, is commonly known as *Fal*, and *Istikhara*. For details see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 114, 115, 221, 222.

³⁸ Manucci remarks with his usual credulity : “I could never sufficiently state to what an extent the Hindus and Mahomedans in India are in the habit of practising witchcraft, I quite well know that if I were to recount that they can even make a cock crow in the belly of the man who stole and ate it, no credit would be given to me. Nevertheless, the truth is that many a time I heard the crowing in different cases, and of such instances I was told over and over again”. Vol. II. 134. For Islamic injunctions about these see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, sub *rocibus*, ‘Magic’ and ‘D’awah’; *Qanun-i-Islam*, ch. XXVI, pp. 218 ff.

was about to die³⁹. Manucci mentions how with the power of sorcery Muslims enchanted crocodiles and killed them with ease⁴⁰. He further adds that Muslims had recourse to so-called holy men "either to ask for sons, or to obtain wives or husbands". Others went "to secure, through their intercession, employment or places at court; others, that some man or woman may fall in love with them; others, to win victory over their enemies or to gain success in business; each man according to his need"⁴¹. It was thought possible to obtain dominion over *jinn*s (genii) and possess abnormal powers to do what was desired⁴². The martyrs⁴³ were held in high esteem and it was believed that they could appear as they were in life and were capable of entering into conjugal intercourse and of begetting children⁴⁴.

³⁹ *Baharistan*, II, 671, 672.

⁴⁰ Manucci writes: "There was another thing I wondered at in the Ganges—that is, frequently the Mahomedans, as an amusement, get into a small boat, and try to catch a crocodile by Sorceries, which are as much resorted to in the country of Bengal. They take a pot and throw into it some flowers, repeating a spell over the pot. Then they place the pot in the river, and it moves of itself against stream. They follow it leisurely in the boat until the pot arrives of itself where there is a crocodile. Thereupon the sorcerer orders the crocodile to give a paw, and it obeys. This paw is made fast; then he asks for the other and it, too, is fastened. Then the brute is dragged to shore as if he were quite meek, or merely an old woman. They kill him with their spears in perfect security. When I was in Hughli they killed a crocodile, which had then in its stomach bracelets and rings of the women it had eaten". Vol. II, 94.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 11, 12.

⁴² Badauni, Lowe, II, 68; *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 1049; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 102. For Muslim faith in *jinn* and relevant traditions see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v.

⁴³ "Ad reputate not those slain on God's path to be dead: Nay, rather, alive with their Lord they are provided for". Quran, III : 163. According to Muslims, the souls of the martyrs (*shuhada*) are stowed away in the crops of green birds till Resurrection Day, eating of the fruits and drinking of the streams of Paradise. There are many modes of death which raise the dead to the rank of martyrs. See *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 123, 124. Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, 327-28.

⁴⁴ Badauni (Haig), III, 146. Badauni mentions two stories in this connection.

CHAPTER VII

MAN AND MORALS

Section 1. Social Evils and Moral Breakdown.

The upper strata of the Muslim society—minus the theologians—had become, during the period under review, very latitudinarian in the observance of Islamic rituals, and even the open defiance of Islamic injunctions was not infrequent. Islam has prohibited the use of intoxicants of every kind¹. But wine since the Age of the Pious Khalifs stole a march over the laws of the Prophet, and intemperance was the besetting sin of the Muslim community.

In Hindustan the case was no better. Amir Khusrau denounces the 'Ulema for pouring liquor "in the same bosom in which the Quran is treasured"². The Mamluk Turks and Khiljis considered wine as permissible to those who are not weak-brained; e.g., Balban did not permit Bughra Khan to drink. Wine-parties of Khilji nobles headed by

¹ Wine under the term *khamr*, which is generally held to imply all things that ferment except vinegar, is forbidden in Islam. See Quran, II : 216; V : 92. Also see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 670.

² *Mulla-ul-Anwar*, p. 58.

Ahmad Chap were notorious. Alauddin had enough wine in his cellar to flood the Badaun gate. Though the Sultan gave it up and forbade its use for political reasons, Delhi did not run dry. Ibn Batuta tells us that wine from the village (*Shasan* of Inderpat) used to be smuggled concealed in loads of fuel in carts for the use of the faithful. The Pathan Sultans abstained from wine but took to Rajput's opium and *post* drink. Sultan Sikandar Lodi had to give up a campaign against Sultan Husain Shah Sharqi because in that year poppy became scarce for his soldiers. Babur and Humayun were content with wine and opium. Akbar, as Yahiya Sarhindi in his *Tarikh-i-Qandahari* says, added the countrymade *tadi* (*neera* of the Congressites) to his list of approved drinks. Akbar made wine *halal* (lawful) as medicine. It became a fashion to the enlightened to drink. Abul Fazl speaking about the festivities of the Nauroz of a particular year says, "In the feast of this month, sense-increasing wine was drunk, and Mir Sadr Jahan Mufti and Mir Abdul Ha'i, the Mir 'Adl, also quaffed their cups". Akbar was much amused by the sight of his high dignitaries in their cups, and quoted the verse of Hafiz:

Dar daur-i-Padshah khata-bakhsh jurm-posh,

Hafiz qaraba-kash shud wa mufti piyala-nosh.

(In the reign of the king who pardons faults and cloaks sins, the reciter of the Quran has become a tosspot, and the judge a tipper)³.

Jahangir beat hollow all his ancestors for three generations in the consumption of liquor both in quality and quantity. He offered wine to Prince Khurram (afterwards Shahjahan) when he was twenty-four years old to sip it for the first time quoting Avicenna:

Mai dushman-i-mast wa dost-i-hushiyar ast,

Andak tiryag wa besh zahr-i-mar ast;

Dar bisyarash muzrat-i-andak neast,

Dar andak-est munfa'it be-shumar ast.

(Wine is a raging enemy, a prudent friend; a little is an antidote, but much a snake's poison. In much there is no

little injury, in little there is much profit)⁴. Jahangir's nobles were still worse. He says that Pishrau Khan "was never for a moment without the intoxication of wine"⁵. Things did not improve under Jahangir's more orthodox son and grandson. Shahjahan in his later years perhaps gave up wine. But Shuja and Murad made ample amends for the abstinence of Shahjahan and Aurangzib. Dara drank both "spirituous" and "spiritual" wine. Aurangzib made a frantic effort to banish this evil; but he had to acknowledge defeat in the long run. Once in despair he cried, "In all Hindustan no more than two men could be found who did not drink, namely, himself and Abdul Wahhab, the chief Qazi appointed by him". But Manucci humourously adds that "with respect to Abdul Wahhab he was in error, for I myself sent him every day a bottle of spirits (*vine*), which he drank in secret, so that the king could not find it out"⁶. It is difficult to mention any social group in Muslim society which did not drink. Women were known to drink and lead an otherwise pious life; tutors of children indulged in drinking; the religious classes, though with many exceptions, did resort to drinking in secret; and the soldiers and military men were addicted to it openly and almost with passion⁷. Besides Palm-wine (*tadi*), opium and *bhang* were also consumed in large quantities⁸. The Muslims had

⁴ *Tuzuk*, I, 306. For different varieties of wine see *Ibid*, II, 126.

⁵ *Ibid*, I, 150.

⁶ Manucci, II, 5, 6.

⁷ Compare Monserrate p. 25; Ovington, p. 235; Bernier, pp. 252, 253; Manucci, II, 150.

⁸ Mandelslo, p. 29; Manucci, II, 7; Ovington, p. 238. Mulla Ayyub, who was a scholar of commendable parts and a poet of elegance, used to eat opium, and had written some lines in praise of this drug:

Eat oh! Sir, an atom of opium,

That it may help thee in not giving way soon in copulation,

Opium benefits the learned,

A learned man should act on his learning.

The beauty of the lines consists in the play upon the words '*ilm*' and '*amal*'. '*Amal*' has two meanings, practice or acting upon and an intoxicant (Rajput's *ammal*). So the last line means both as translated above and:

become so addicted to the intoxicants that it was not taken only for the sake of pleasure but it formed a part of their regular diet and was regarded more important than food and drink⁹.

Mixed inebriation of love divine, and love intellectual degenerating into unnatural lust in Sufi mysticism, comes next to intoxicants as a raging passion of the Medieval Muslim society, which, however, sent down both of these as unenviable legacies to the later age. The Muslim community had a weakness for miracles and saintship (*Piri*) and bowed down their heads in applause and admiration before them. Even a person of pretended holiness was sure to attract a large following and earn a good dividend for himself. The *Pir* was almost pushed up to an equality with the Prophet, even with Allah himself as the key of blessings and granter of prayers. A very interesting background of popular passion for saints and saint worship is to be found in the pre-Mughal period. Ahmad Bahari presumptuously made himself a prophet, and said that there could be none of the grace of prophecy in any one who had not been admitted into his following. A party of his followers even affirmed that a God had appeared in Delhi in the person of Ahmad Bahari¹⁰. One of the pupils of 'Ain Mahru set himself up as a Shaikh in the country of Gujrat and having got together a body of disciples used to say "Anal Haq" (I am God). He commanded his disciples that when he uttered these words they were to say "Thou art, Thou art !" He further claimed to be immortal¹¹. The disciples of Shaikh Daud, in the reign of Akbar, included his name in their religious exercise (*zikr*)¹² and invoked his help. Makhdum-ul-Mulk Abdullah Sultanpuri

"Knowledge must be with an intoxicant" or "No knowledge without an intoxicant". *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 129.

⁹ Compare *Baharistan*, I, 401; *Māasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 229.

¹⁰ *Fatuhai-i-Firuz Shahi*, Elliot and Dowson, III, 378.

¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 379, 380.

¹² *Zikr*, "remembrance" and "recital". A form of religious exercise adopted by Sufis and darveshes. It may be physical as well as a mental exercise, being the recital of God's praises, attributes, etc., either with the tongue of the flesh (*zikr-i-jali*), or with the "tongue of the heart"

brought charges against Shaikh Daud that the latter permitted his disciples to introduce his name into their *zikr* and they cry out "Ya Daud, Ya Daud!" Shaikh Daud very dexterously repelled the charge¹³. But the case appears to be otherwise. Once Badauni, the orthodox historian of Akbar's reign, was going in the night all alone except for one attendant on foot to Shergarh, about eighty miles from Lahore. He was stopped by highwaymen who surrounded him on every side. Being questioned by them where he was going in such a perilous night he told them that he had just taken his leave from Shaikh Abu Ishaq, one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Daud, and was proceeding to pay his respects to his spiritual guide the *Mian*, i.e., Shaikh Daud. As soon as they heard the name of Shaikh Daud they submitted to Badauni and entertained him with milk, curds and other refreshments. Afterwards they set him on his way, warned him to be cautious and wary and urged him to make frequent mention of the name of the holy *Mian* in his religious exercises¹⁴. This incident leaves no shadow of doubt that the practice of mentioning the name of Shaikh Daud in religious exercises was fairly common among the Shaikh's followers, even if it was not approved by him. During the time of the later Mughals an imposter, Mir Ali Asghar Kobra, became very popular with the Muslim masses on account of his so-called miracles¹⁵. Veneration and visits to the tombs of the saints more by young women than by old men was another unhealthy feature¹⁶. The orthodox resented this un-Islamic

(*zikr-i-khafi*). A detailed account of the various forms of the exercise will be found in Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v.

¹³ Badauni (Haig), III, 53.

¹⁴ Ibid, pp. 80, 81 and *note*.

¹⁵ *Siyar*, English trans., II, 20-23.

¹⁶ "A custom and practice unauthorised by the Law of Islam had sprung up in Musalman cities. On holy days women riding in palankins, or carts, or litters, or mounted on horses or mules, or in large parties on foot, went out of the city to the tombs. Rakes and wild fellows of unbridled passions and loose habits, took the opportunity which this practice afforded for improper riotous actions. I commanded that no woman

practice as amounting to idol-worship. At the shrine of the saints they performed the duties of circumambulation (*Tawaf*)¹⁷ and the ceremony of invoking help¹⁸. Secret visits to the shrines of some of the reputed saints to obtain blessings was also paid in a most devout and unceremonious manner¹⁹. On every Thursday, both men and women went out of the city to the tombs of the saints. It afforded great opportunities for all sorts of moral mischief²⁰. There they burnt lamps, offered flowers and sweets and showed respect and devotion by kissing the tombs²¹. People used to take vows in the name of the saints to go on pilgrimage to their tombs if a certain desire was fulfilled²². Besides, the Prophet's foot-print (*Qadam-i-Rasul*) was also held in great esteem and idolatrous adoration was shown to it²³.

The death anniversaries (*'urs*) of some of the popular saints of Hindustan were and are still celebrated with great scruples and strange

should go out to the tombs under pain of exemplary punishment". *Fatuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, Elliot and Dowson, III, 380. In spite of this legislation the evil persisted. See *Infra*.

¹⁷ The only circumambulation enjoined by Islam is that of the *K'abah* (also called *Masjid-ul-Haram*, "sacred mosque" or *Bait-ullah*, "House of God") at Mecca, which is performed seven times at the pilgrimage (*hajj*). Quran, XXII : 27.

¹⁸ Badauni (Haig), III, 50; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 421, 429.

¹⁹ Compare *Baharistan*, I, 43 where the author himself does this twice in the day and once at night at the shrine of Shaikh Qutb-ul-Alam at Pandua in Bengal.

²⁰ Manucci, IV, 205; *Siyar*, trans., I, 445; *Tuzuk*, I, 428.

²¹ *John Marshall in India*, ed. S.A. Khan, p. 398; P. Della Valle, I, 69-71; Pelsaert, pp. 70-72; Terry, p. 291. Also see Mandelslo, p. 25; Monserrate, p. 18.

²² Mirza Nathan, author of *Baharistan-i-Ghaihi*, at the time of the illness of his father took a vow that after the recovery of his father he would pay a visit to the shrine of His Holiness Shaikh Nur Qutb better known as *Qutb-ul-Alam*, whose shrine is at Pandua in Bengal and is held in great esteem by the Muslims of that province. See *Baharistan*, I, 42.

²³ Compare Manucci, II, 4, 5; *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 410-412; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Eng. trans., pp. 349-351; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 558; Badauni, Lowe, II, 320,

ceremonies. Crowds of pilgrims from distant parts of the country, forming themselves into bands and bearing gilded banners ('*alam*) and carrying various presents, used to flock to the shrine of Salar Masud Ghazi²⁴, popularly called Ghazi Mian, at Bahraich in Oudh on the occasion of his annual festival²⁵. Sultan Sikandar Lodi fruitlessly tried to put an end to this innovation²⁶. At Makanpur, the burial place of Shah Madar²⁷, on the day of his death anniversary people assembled in large numbers carrying banners of all colours and reciting his praises²⁸. It was believed that the blind and the lame were cured at the shrine²⁹. On these occasions in the concourse of men and women great liberties were taken. Even a rigid Mulla like Abdul Qadir Badauni, the historian, committed an act of impropriety at Makanpur on the occasion of a pilgrimage and was severely beaten and attacked with swords by the relatives of his beloved³⁰.

Both the aristocracy and the common man of the Muslim community were lamentably backward and degenerate and the nobility was no exception. Being a privileged class favoured by the Court, the Muslim nobles lost the incentive of struggle and slid into slothful

²⁴ He was the sister's son of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. He was killed in a battle (1034 A.D.) at Bahraich at the age of nineteen on his wedding day. He is regarded a martyr by the Muslims. The debased cult of Salar Masud is not looked with favour by the orthodox. Curiously enough this Northern Indian cult finds its counterpart in the Deccan in the cult of Abdur Rahman, a close relation of Salar Masud, which however is not nearly so popular as is the cult of the latter. See *Ibid* (Haig), III, 46, 47, and *note*.

²⁵ *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, II, 225; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarret, II, 172; *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, text, p. 43; *Qanun-i-Islam*, p. 141.

²⁶ Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Part I, p. 66.

²⁷ For Shah Madar and Makanpur see *Supra*.

²⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarret, III, 370; *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, text, pp. 40, 41.

²⁹ *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 226.

³⁰ Badauni's wounds healed in a week's time. Afterwards he made up his mind to go on *Hajj* for the purification of his sins. See Badauni, *Lowe*, II, 140, 141.

case³¹. The vice of flattery pervaded all the ranks and this avowed principle of the age clearly comes out in a Persian couplet:

*Agar shah roz ra goyed shab ast in,
Behayed guft inak mah wa parvin.*

(If the king in the day time says that it is night, it should be said: Behold! Moon and the stars!)³².

It will take at least half a century for Democracy to cure our people of the evils of Monarchy and despotism of two thousand years so far as flattery as a trait of oriental character is concerned. The demoralizing effect of despotism is thus noticed by Edward Terry: "And this tie of theirs (I say) upon the king's favour, makes all his subjects most servile flatterers; for they will commend any of his actions, though they be nothing but cruelty; so any of his speeches, though nothing but folly"³³. Bernier states: "I must not conceal from you the base and disgusting adulation which invariably witnessed there. Whenever a word escapes the lips of the king, if at all to the purpose, how trifling soever may be its import, it is immediately caught by the surrounding throng; and the chief Omrahs, extending their arms towards heaven, as if to receive some benediction, exclaim *Karamat, Karamat!* Wonderful, Wonderful! he has spoken wonders!"³⁴ From childhood, flattery was almost an elixir to princes in the harem administered by nurses and maid-servants³⁵. The poets vied with each other in their elegorical compositions (*Qasidahs*) in praise of the monarchs. Thus flattery, abject flattery,

³¹ Compare Roe and Fryer, p. 312.

³² Bernier, p. 263. Ovington says, "The dependence upon the Prince's Favour makes obsequiousness fashionable, and Flattery practised in all the Courts of the East. . . . This Flattery of their Subjects has made them fancy themselves more than Demi-Gods, and vaunt themselves in the most exorbitant swelling Titles". pp. 181, 182.

³³ Terry, pp. 392, 393.

³⁴ Bernier, p. 263.

³⁵ Compare the anecdote of Manucci having been reprimanded: "Mogul princes were never disturbed in mind, and all they did was void of passion and full of prudence". Vol. II, 347.

lost its moral odium in society, and even came to be looked upon as indispensable part of social etiquette not only of courtiers but also of the common man, groaning under the heels of every one above him; because every petty despot under "*Man Bap*" regime expected a return in kind from his subordinates what his tongue is trained to utter in a higher circle, and his hand to oil the palm of his patron with unlawful grease of *bhet* (presents) and bribe. Institutions medieval lingered in the *dali* of Christmas to the *Bara Sahib* under the British regime, and even to this day to their puritan successors on a mass scale in democratic and pious guise.

Disloyalty and ingratitude were more of a rule than an exception in the official circle, civil and military. Selfishness was the dominant motive and petty intrigue a second nature of man Muslim or Hindu in Mughal India, as perhaps no less of Free India till now. "Nothing can be more surprising than the way things go on in the Mogul Empire. The king, the princes, the governors, and the generals have each their own line of policy, calculated for securing success to their own designs. . . . Down to the very smallest officer there is not one who is not a past master in the art of enriching himself prodigiously. They flinch from nothing in their pursuit of wealth; they ignore even the loyalty due to their sovereign"³⁶. Such moral callousness, social and political, characterized the people as a whole. Bernier indignantly deplores the mean desertion of the rightful cause of Shahjahan by all the classes of nobility and the people alike³⁷.

³⁶ Manucci, III, 270. He further accuses them for prolonging the wars and maintaining correspondence with the enemies of the Empire to enable them to squeeze wealth.

³⁷ Bernier remarks: "I can indeed scarcely repress my indignation when I reflect that there was not a single movement, nor even a voice heard, in behalf of the aged and injured Monarch; although the Omrahs, who bowed the knee to his oppressors, were indebted to him for their rank and riches, having been, according to the custom of the Court, raised by Chah-Jehan from a state of lowest indigence, and many of them even redeemed from absolute slavery". p. 65. Also see p. 124.

The Muslims were proverbially extravagant. They spent over their income and even exhausted their borrowing capacity in their ambition to play the *amir*. They lived rather for the day than saving anything for the morrow³⁸. The court historian of Shahjahan makes a boast that the income of a third-grade peer of the Mughal Empire was greater than the revenues of the ruler of Balkh³⁹. Abundance of money, earned or borrowed, bred indolence and love of ease; these soon led to vice; vice finally brought about poverty and ruin. Everyone thought as if of enjoying the day and postponing work and duty for the morrow; because does not Umar Khayyam say?

“The *Muazzin* from the Tower cries,

Fools, thy paradise is neither here nor there”.⁴⁰

Tavernier corroborates Bernier : “If perchance there were any who felt touched by his (Shahjahan’s) misfortunes, fear made them silent, and made them basely abandon a king who had governed them like a father, . . .” Vol. I, 343. The governor who was left in charge of Ahmadabad by Dara basely deserted to Aurangzib. Bernier, p. 89. And moreover, the surrender of Dara himself by Malik Jiwan whom Shahjahan had ordered to be trampled down under the foot of elephant and saved through the intercession of Dara is a glaring example. Qanungo, *Dara Shukoh*, I, 307, 308.

³⁸ “The Moguls Feed high, Entertain much, and Whore not a little”. Roe and Fryer, p. 450. Compare Bernier, p. 222; Manucci, III, 416, 417; Mandelslo, p. 64.

³⁹ *Badshahnama*, text, II, 452. For the comparison of the income of the grandees of Empire of Hindustan and Iran see Khafi Khan, I, 403, 404; *Badshahnama*, II, 63, 64. Also see *Tuzuk*, II, 172; Manucci, III, 252. Bernier remarks : “Notwithstanding these large incomes, I was acquainted with very few wealthy Omrahs; on the contrary, most of them are in emqarrassed circumstances, and deeply in debt; not that they are ruined, like the nobility of other countries, by the extravagance of their table, but by the costly presents made to the king at certain annual festivals, and by their large establishment of wives, servants, camels and horses”. p. 213.

⁴⁰ “For the Mahometans, . . .there are many of them idle, and know better to eat than work; and these are all for tomorrow, a word very common in their mouths; and the word Sub-ba (*Subah*), which signifies tomorrow, and when that day comes, tomorrow; and so still tomorrow,

Excessive indulgence of the Muslim community, particularly of the upper classes, in sexual pleasures was encouraged by the abundant booty of captive beauty in war or easy purchase in the slave market. Women formed their main diversion and principal relaxation⁴¹. Sultan Alauddin Khilji, like other commodities, fixed the tariff of wages for public women and circulated an order among them whereby they were severely prohibited from raising their charges above the scheduled rates⁴². Akbar constructed a separate quarter for the residence of public women in cities, calling it by the humorous name of *Shaitanpura* (The Devil's Quarter). Aurangzib made an attempt to expel the tribe of harlots from Delhi or getting them married⁴³. The evil of prostitution was a well-developed art and no social entertainment went without the presence of dancing girls,—without whom a *barat* (marriage) party is considered graceless in the countryside even to this day⁴⁴. Dancing bouts (*Akharas*) were very popular with the Muslim aristocracy and were

they will set down upon their business tomorrow, will do anything you would have them to do tomorrow, they will bestow anything upon you Sub-ba, tomorrow". Terry, p. 235. Also see Roe and Fryer, p. 352.

⁴¹ Manucci says: "For all Mahomedans are very fond of women, who are their principal relaxation and almost their only pleasure". Vol. II, 342. "They (i.e. Muslims) spend all they have in Luxury keeping a vast number of servants, but above all of concubines. These being many every one of them strives to be beloved above the rest, using all manners of allurements, Perfumes and sweet oyntments. Sometimes to heighten their master's Lusts they give him Compositions of Pearls, Gold, Opium and Amber; or else much wine that he may require Company in Bed. Then some drive away the Flies, others rub his Hands and Feet, others Dance, others play on Musick, and others do other things;..." Careri, Part III, p. 251. Also see Ovington, pp. 234, 235; Terry, p. 283; Manucci, I, 192.

⁴² *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, text, I, 199.

⁴³ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 314; Manucci, II, 9.

⁴⁴ There were various kinds of dancing girls, e.g., *Domnis*, *Patars*, *Kumachnis*, *Pari-shans* and *Lulis*. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 147. Also see Tavernier, I, 157, 259, 385; Peter Mundy, II, 216; P. Della Valle, I, 46.

frequently organised⁴⁵.

The Mongoloid vice of catamites (male sweet-hearts) which figures so prominently in contemporary Persian poetry and prose in the mystic garb of Sufism, betrays the perverted sex-complex of the Muslim community⁴⁶. It was, they say, a custom of Trans-Oxiana transported into India⁴⁷. It was customary with the aristocracy to keep a large number of handsome pages in their train to be their pride at home, safety abroad and perhaps a solace to their harem⁴⁸. The Sufis under the colour of "pure love" indulged in this unholy passion. Sarmad⁴⁹, the mystic, and a few of his own calibre are only exceptions. Interesting instances are available concerning this abuse prevailing at the time. Tavernier mentions a fierce rising of the 'Darveshes' and Faqirs against the misconduct of the governor of Surat, a Muslim. The trouble originated about a young page. The governor had forcibly retained the page in his service and wanted to enter into unnatural intercourse with him. The boy was the son of a 'Faqir', and hence all the 'Faqirs' made a common cause against the governor⁵⁰. Shah Quli Khan Mahram loved a boy

⁴⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarret, III, 258; Badauni, Ranking, I, 332.

⁴⁶ See for example *Ibid*, text, I, 472; III, Haig, 245, 257, and see p. 243 for the following verses:

Hearken to this advice from *Saifi*,
That it may suffice thee all thy life,
On a good poetry and a handsome boy,
Pin thy faith, no matter whose they be.

⁴⁷ *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, II, 127; Badauni, Lowe, II, 14.

⁴⁸ Compare Roe and Fryer, pp. 179, 450, 451.

⁴⁹ Sarmad was originally a Persian Jew. After his conversion to Islam, he took the name of Muhammad S'aid. When he came to India, at Thatta (in Sind), he became infatuated with a Hindu lad, namely Abhai Chand, and casting off his clothes, sat down at the door of his beloved. When Abhai Chand's father became convinced of Sarmad's purity of love, he allowed him to take away the boy into his house. For other details see *Dabistan*, Shea and Troyer, II, 293 ff; Maulvi Abdul Wali, "Sarmad : His Life and Execution", *Indian Antiquary*, XXXIX, 1911, pp. 119-126.

⁵⁰ Tavernier, I, 53.

named Qabul Khan who knew dancing as well. Akbar reprimanded Shah Quli for this. The latter set fire to his name and fame and became a *yogi* (i.e. renounced the world)⁵¹. Ali Quli Khan was in love with Shaham Beg, a camel driver's son and the Khan handed over to Shaham his wedded wife Aram Jan, who was formerly a prostitute. Shaham Beg after satisfying his lust made her over to Abdur Rahman in the manner he got her. After some time Shaham wanted her back but Abdur Rahman refused. It at last resulted in the murder of Shaham Beg. When Ali Quli Khan heard the news of Shaham's murder, he became bewildered and pursued Abdur Rahman to avenge the death of Shaham but in vain. Ali Quli erected a lofty building over Shaham's remains near Jaunpur⁵².

The vice of gambling was by no means limited to Hindus, with whom it has got some sort of religious sanction and is almost universally resorted to on certain festivals, such as Diwali. A Muslim gambler, according to Amir Khusrau, was a familiar figure in contemporary society. He gives a pen-picture of a Muslim gambler. His wife and children go about famished and ill-clad, and, according to the poet, he would not even scruple to sell his daughter⁵³.

⁵¹ *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, II, 121; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, II, 535.

⁵² *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, II, 125-129; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 225-228; Badauni, Lowe, II, 13-17. Also see *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 440, 478, 1242; II, 404, 422; *Baharistan*, I, 55; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 247.

⁵³ *Matta-ul-Anwar*, p. 151. This reads like the bewailing of the fate of a gambler in Vedic India. However, the vice was prevalent in pagan Arabia and under the Umayyads. In India Muslims found the vice prevalent, and inventions for newer forms of gambling became prolific in Mughal times. Gambling over fight of birds, cock, ram, partridge etc. and even on kite-flying are more popular with the Muslims than with Hindus. What was rough in gambling in those days has become only intellectual in modern times in the form of cross-words and stake at gentlemen's card-table. Jahangir gave an order that gambling should be abolished but it was without any effect. *Tuzuk*, I, 157.

Manucci gives a very interesting account of the degeneration of the lower rung of Mullas acting as priestly classes of the ignorant commonalty in the Muslim community, and also of learned cheats trading in religiosity. He states: 'The greatest abuse there was, and still is, in the Mughal kingdom is due to the cheating and hypocrisy of the holy mendicants. No one goes to such-like men with empty hands, but always with something as an offering. Thus these holy men live in luxury. They know how to cover their impostures by deception, and with the aid of the devil hold of the people under their spell by written incantations and bonds. Above all, they have control of the women, who resort to them in large numbers. They know how to make use of their opportunities, sparing neither Muslim, Hindu, nor Christian women, if they are good-looking. In addition, they have numerous wives and slave girls in their houses, whom they send out at night in all directions as pretended devotees to earn an illicit livelihood, or to act as go-betweens to bring to the house of their master any woman that he desires. This is done under a covering of religion. These women also serve to make excuses if any suppliants have not obtained their desires, or to persuade people that the holy man's supplications are specially effective; also to find out what is going on, and thus give their master occasion to reveal secrets, as is fitting to holy men who know hidden things. They carry themselves humbly, so that in the streets many passers-by prostrate themselves on the ground and call to them with lifted hands. On these occasions each prays for what he wants, whether health, or delivery from demons, calling out according to his necessity. But the hypocrite, with a severe mien, goes on his way, making signs with his hands as of one who gives good hope to all, and takes on himself to satisfy every one'⁵⁴. Manucci has described at great length the mode of living and all the devices and tricks having resort to by these "wretched pretenders to holiness" to satisfy their lust and avarice⁵⁵. All these exaggerations of a heathen

⁵⁴ Manucci, II, 11-13.

⁵⁵ Ibid, II, 13, 14; III, 267, 268.

observer are not without foundation⁵⁶. Moreover, the number of Muslim *faqirs* who lived on people's charity, was alarmingly large⁵⁷. They had different modes of begging and the conduct of most of them was unruly⁵⁸. What is true of Muslim *faqirs* of medieval times holds true also for the modern, embracing the whole trade in religion of Muslims as well as Hindus.

Section 2. The Anchor of Islam.

With all their freedom with the laws of the Shari'at and the Quran, with all their laxity in the observances of Islam, the Muslim community of Hindustan, during the period under review, remained firmly anchored to their great heritage of Islamic culture and Islam as a religion like a mighty vessel in stormy waters. Bernier while assessing the achievements of the Christian missionaries in India remarks: "I despair especially of much success among Mahometan kings or Mahometan subjects. Having visited nearly all the missionary stations in the East, I speak the language of experience when I say, that whatever progress may be made among Gentiles (i. e. Hindus) by the instruction and alms of the missionaries, you will be disappointed if you suppose that in ten years one Mahometan will be converted to Christianity"⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ Compare Monserrate, pp. 24, 25; Tavernier, II, 179, 180; Badauni (Haig), III, 120. Mian Abdul Latif asked Aurangzib not to visit saints. Aurangzib said, "If we worldly men engrossed in sins do not perform God's duties by paying the perfect saints a short visit, what will be our case and condition?" He replied, "The prohibition is meant for the saints of the present time who do not follow the ways of the great saints of the past. If you pay them a visit you will be more blind (than before)". *Ruq'at-i-Alamgiri*, trans., Bilimoria, p. 92.

⁵⁷ "It is estimated that there are in India 800,000 Muhammadan *Fakirs*, and 1,200,000 among the idolators, . . ." Tavernier, I, 392; II, 178.

⁵⁸ Compare Terry, pp. 262-266; Roe and Fryer, pp. 450, 451, 277, 284; Peter Mundy, II, 176; Thevenot, Part III, pp. 9, 66; Manucci, III, 200; I, 146, 147; Tavernier, I, 81, 391, 392; II, 178, 179.

⁵⁹ Bernier, p. 290.

Father Du Jarric says: "... in the conversion of souls there was not so much progress in this land of the Saracens, who are as hard as diamonds to work upon, as in other lands where this sect has not taken root"⁶⁰. Father Guerreiro observes: "It is very remarkable, . . . , how these Moors close their ears to whatever is said against Mafamede (Muhammad). They will listen to all that is told them of our faith; but this one thing they cannot endure; and if it were not for thier fear of the king, we should have died a thousand times"⁶¹. Edward Terry states: "... the hearts of that people are so confirmed and hardened in their own evil old ways, their ears so sealed up, their eyes so blinded with unbelief and darkness, that only he who hath the key of David, that shuts when no man can open, and opens when no man can shut, can open to them the door of life"⁶². The Muslims were proud of their religion and believed that salvation (*nijat*) lies only in following the path of Islam⁶³. They had even developed in imitation of Hindus an un-Islamic prejudice of not taking anything cooked by the hands of a non-Muslim, though the Prophet of God permitted the Ghazis to take food brought by infidels to them by sanctifying it with *Bismillah* (In the name of God)⁶⁴.

The broad features of Islamic injunctions were generally adhered to. Speaking about the Muslim prayer Edward Terry says: "The

⁶⁰ *Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 173.

⁶¹ *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, p. 57. At another place the same Father says: "Touching the fruits of this mission, the number of new Christians made was small. This was partly because the Fathers could place so little reliance on the people of this moor-ridden land that to convert them was like building with worm-eaten timber". Ibid, p. 24.

⁶² Terry, p. 428. Also see *Early Travels in India*, ed. William Foster, pp. 280-282; *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*, ed. William Foster, p. 278.

⁶³ Mandelslo, p. 63; *John Marshall in India*, ed. S.A. Khan, pp. 403, 404.

⁶⁴ Compare Mandelslo, p. 63. The Hindus had also the same scruple. See Tavernier, I, 273.

Mogul doth so, who sits upon the throne; the shepherd doth so, that waits on his flock in the field; ... all sorts of Mahometans do thus, whether fixed in a place, or moving in a journey, when their times or hour of prayer come, ...⁶⁵. Instead of simply striking their heads on the ground, some persons placed a stone for use in the *Sijdah* (prostration) leaving a hard mark on their foreheads which was looked on as sign of great religious devotion⁶⁶. A black mark caused by repeated prostration on the forehead of a *namazi* will shine, according to their belief, like the full Moon on the Day of Judgment.

The Muslims observed the Fast of Ramzan 'with the greatest strictness, not swallowing their spittle all the day of its continuance'⁶⁷. Even boys of twelve and thirteen eagerly kept the fast of this month⁶⁸. Ovington remarks that the Muslims 'complete their fast, according to their strictest rules of the most rigid ascetics, by mixing prayers and watchings with their abstinence'⁶⁹. Sher Khan Afghan, an old servant of Jahangir, was terribly addicted to wine-drinking. He had not kept the fast of the month of Ramzan one year. So next year he decided to fast for two months together and in this adventure he ended his life as total giving up of wine-drinking for such a long

⁶⁵ Terry, p. 255. Ovington says: "... in their Public Prayers and Religious Worship, they tie themselves up to a very nice and devout strictness, and behave themselves with all those decencies of Respect, with that Astonishing Reverence in the Musseets (*Masjids*), as not to defile them with either their Eyes or Lips; not daring so much as to turn their Heads to gaze about, or utter the least word to one another, which profound Respect casts an obloquy and deserved Reproach upon some Professors of a much purer Religion, and more Holy Faith, whose careless Deportment and familiar address discountenance all the Religious decorum of Prayers, and might tempt those Heathens to conclude that our Devotions were rather some light Diversion, than the effects of serious and sacred Thoughts". p. 244. Also see p. 293.

⁶⁶ Compare Manucci, III, 265.

⁶⁷ Roe and Fryer, p. 304.

⁶⁸ Ovington, p. 242.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 244.

period proved fatal⁷⁰. Some rigid Musalmans kept the fast even on the march and in battle-fields⁷¹, though under such conditions the observance of the fast is optional⁷². The month of Ramzan was regarded as the month of religious purification and religious festivities. Usually the armies in this month went into encampment and they passed their days in ease and devotion⁷³. Aurangzib's siege of Agra in the month of Ramzan was, however, an exception, because political necessity knows no law. There was a great eagerness about breaking the fast together at the residence of one another turn by turn which was deemed to heighten the merit of the fast⁷⁴. It was a healthy custom to stiffen the social solidarity of Islam.

Out of the motive of public charity (*Zakat*) some persons of means built *Sarais*, dug tanks and wells and arranged for the supply of drinking-water on the thoroughfares⁷⁵. At the death anniversaries of revered saints free food to the poor was also provided⁷⁶. The Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca was naturally an annual event of importance and there was a general craze among the Musalmans to go on *Hajj* and

⁷⁰ *Tuzuk*, I, 134, 135.

⁷¹ *Baharistan*, I, 227; II, 721. Badauni writes: "Some of the servants of God showed such fortitude as to merit the excellence both of waging a holy war, and also of maintaining a strict fast. But I on the contrary was so weak, that I took a single draught of water to moisten my throat, for want of which some gave up the ghost, and several excellent friends of mine became martyrs". Badauni, Lowe, II, 156.

⁷² For details see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. 'Fasting' and 'Ramazan'.

⁷³ *Baharistan*, I, 242. Also compare Terry, pp. 271, 272.

⁷⁴ Jahangir says, "I ordered that all the Shaikhs and men of piety who lived in the city should be brought in order that they might break their fast in attendance on me". *Tuzuk*, II, 31. Also see *Baharistan*, I, 109, 110; Badauni, Lowe, II, 351.

⁷⁵ Terry, pp. 272, 273. There are seven descriptions of persons upon whom *Zakat* may be bestowed and the travellers are one of these. For further details see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. 'Zakat'.

⁷⁶ Compare *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 134.

become a *Haji*⁷⁷. Edward Terry praises the religious tenacity of the Muslim community who would rather prefer to die "than to eat or drink anything their law forbids them"⁷⁸, except, perhaps, wine and other intoxicating drugs which were made *halal* under the pretext of being 'the best restorative for health'. The Muslims engaged in battles with their shrouds (*kafan*) wrapped on their heads⁷⁹. They usually uttered *Bismillah* before commencing any work⁸⁰. Instances are not wanting when the Muslims raised their hands in supplication before the Almighty for a victory over their enemies in wars⁸¹. The pious tried to keep their body constantly in a state of ceremonial purity⁸². Ram Raj of Vijayanagar enlisted three thousand foreign Muslim soldiery dismissed by Ibrahim Adil Shah. He caused a Quran to be placed before him when they came to pay their respects to him in order to reconcile their religious susceptibilities in the act of making obeisance to a Hindu Raja⁸³.

⁷⁷ Careri, Part III, p. 251. Mandelslo says: "...the Moors or Moguls, go in pilgrimage with so great devotion, that some of them put Padlocks on their mouths to keep them from speaking, and never take them off, but only when they are to eat". p. 20. The Muslim *Hajj* also served as an excuse to get rid of an undesirable person or for the purposes of taking refuge outside India. See for example *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 648.

⁷⁸ Terry, p. 232.

⁷⁹ *Baharistan*, II, 596; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 142.

⁸⁰ Compare *Baharistan*, I, 82.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, I, 80. It is said that Nawab J'affar Khan had so persistently practised the *Du'a-i-Saifi* that when he commenced chatting it his sword of itself unsheathed itself from its scabbard, and through invisible help he vanquished his enemies when he encountered Rashid Khan on the field of Karimabad (in Bengal). This *Du'a* or prayer, meaning literally the "prayer of the sword" is said to have been uttered by the Prophet at the battle of Badr, when it is related angels descended to fight in his ranks, and turned disaster into victory. Compare *Riyaz-us-Salat*, trans., p. 271.

⁸² *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 283. For various acts of purification see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 477.

⁸³ Briggs' *Firishla*, III, 79.

Section 3. Muslim Virtues, Accomplishments and Diversions.

Islam lays great stress on the cultivation of positive virtues and abundant literature is available on the subject⁸⁴. Mere non-committal of sin is not enough. Passivity is the very negation of the fundamentals of the practical religion as preached by the Prophet of God. What is right and just must be not only practised but also actively propagated. Though the moral tone of the Muslim community, during the period under review, was not very high, there were many redeeming features. To earn one's own living by honest-sweating was looked upon not with disavour as in "genteel society" of degenerate times. Even religious men of good unearned income employed themselves in teaching children and thereby made their daily bread *halal* or lawful to them⁸⁵. The copying of the Holy Quran and the sending of the copies so transcribed as presents, were fairly common⁸⁶. Due consideration was paid not to dishonour the 'obligation of salt' (*Namak-halali*)⁸⁷. The Muslims believed in preparing themselves in advance to meet the mortal's inevitable end. They have no superstition like the Hindus in building a tomb for themselves before death. Kings and nobles chose the site and constructed buildings in their own life-time to serve as their resting place after death⁸⁸. A wave of unworldliness had come upon higher minds in Islam after the Prophet's death, though the life of a householder is *sunna* in

⁸⁴ Specially see *Akhlaq-i-Muhsini*, *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri* and *Akhlaq-i-Jalali*.

⁸⁵ Terry, p. 247.

⁸⁶ Compare *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, trans., pp. 270, 271 and 279 where it is stated that transcribing of the Quran formed a part of the daily routine of Nawab J'afar Khan. He used to send the copies so made to holy places both in and outside India.

⁸⁷ Compare *Baharistan*, II, 460.

⁸⁸ Compare *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 155. Mandelslo says: "There is hardly any person of quality, but makes him a handsome garden, within which he builds a fair house, having a great number of little windows on all sides, which is to serve for a place of Sepulture for them, and all their family after them. . . ." p. 63.

Islam. Though a few in India renounced the world altogether⁸⁹ like Hindu ascetics, most of the saints kept to the Prophet's ideal to be in the world and yet not of it. It was usual to ask forgiveness of all who were in touch in life before a man breathed his last⁹⁰. Great respect and devotion was shown to parents and the sons were their mainstay in their old age⁹¹. The children were brought up with as much care as a large harem would allow, and the parents had unbounded affections for them⁹². Mandelslo says, 'the children of the Muslims have a particular tenderness of those that brought them into the world; nay, that it is sometimes so great, that they would rather starve themselves, than suffer those from whom they derive their life, should want anything requisite for the preservation of their own'⁹³. Some persons imitated the example of the Great Prophet and passed their days in most unceremonious and unpretentious manner taking the most ordinary food for their bare sustenance, and sharing their own with others in need⁹⁴.

The committing of the Quran to memory was deemed a sacred achievement⁹⁵. The Muslims took delight in writing different hands. The aptitude in familiar quotations of verses in letters and speeches was a part of the mental equipment of every cultured Muslim, though it proves no special taste for poetry. So it was no surprise to hear S'adi or Hafiz from the lips of illiterate cart-drivers of any capital city while

⁸⁹ Compare for instance *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, pp. 102, 146.

⁹⁰ "On the evening before my departure, the Emperor (Aurangzib), opening the window of his sleeping apartment, called me to him, and said, 'Separation now takes place between us, and our meeting again is uncertain. Forgive then whatever, wittingly or unwittingly, I may have done against thee, and pronounce the word I forgive! three times with sincerity of heart'". *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khani*, Elliot and Dowson, VII, 536.

⁹¹ Compare Terry, pp. 232, 233.

⁹² Mandelslo, p. 62. See *Tuzuk*, I, 142 where a Muslim mother committed suicide by taking opium on the death of her son.

⁹³ Mandelslo, p. 62.

⁹⁴ Badauni (Haig), III, 92, 98.

⁹⁵ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 318.

bargaining for wages. The Muslims were well-versed in different branches of art and literature. A poet could be anything, a highwayman or a wrestler; and the masters of the pen were often the masters of the sword as well. The virtues and vices of a typical courtier were perhaps those of the poet Fana who one day said before Akbar: "Nobody has excelled me in these three *shins*, *Shamshir* ('the sword'), *Sh'ir* ('poetry'), and *Shatranj* ('chess')". The Emperor at once replied, "The same might be said of two other *shins*, *Shaitani* ('devilry') and *Shattahi* ('effrontery')"⁹⁶.

The peculiar feature of Muslim life was that it was equally divided between *razm*, *bazm*, and *'ibadat* (war, banquet and worship). Sultan Mahmud III of Gujrat, who was very particular in celebrating the Prophet's Nativity, after the conclusion of its entertainments used to retire to his private chamber and indulged in drinking⁹⁷. In the military camps "musicians and singers of lovely faces and sweet voice, and Hafizes and men of intellect used to spend their time" every day in entertaining soldiers and imperial officers of Bengal⁹⁸.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin, son of Sultan Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, established within his seraglio all separate offices of a court, and had at one time fifteen thousand women within his palace. Among these were school-mistresses, musicians, dancers, embroiderers, women to read prayers, and persons of all professions and trades. With all these extraordinary fancies, he was particular in his daily prayers, and gave instructions to his attendants always to wake him at the specified time. If asleep, they were authorised to use every exertion to prevent his missing the hour of prayer; and it is known that they even used to sprinkle water on his face, and pull him out of his bed for prayer. But on these occasions he was never known to lose his temper⁹⁹. The Mughal harem was also a miniature state within the state with similar establishments though no

⁹⁶ Badauni (Haig), III, 408. Also see p. 519.

⁹⁷ *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 247.

⁹⁸ *Baharistan*, I, 138.

⁹⁹ Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 236, 237.

Emperor would suffer any such torment for piety as Sultan Ghiyasuddin Khilji.

For indoor diversion the Muslims were specially fond of chess-playing, both two-handed and four-handed ('quadruple chess'), called *Shatranj-i-kamil* or *Chatwaji* ('the four king game')¹⁰⁰. 'It is impossible to live without some kind of recreation', said the wise Harun Rashid, 'and for a monarch, I can suggest no better diversion than chess'¹⁰¹. According to Manucci they were of opinion that through this game they learnt "to govern, place and displace, give and take, with discretion, to the glory and gain of their projects"¹⁰². They also played the chess for a wager and used to stake heavily¹⁰³. Idle leisure or forced inactivity was enlivened with cards (*Ganjafa*) and *Chaupar* (draughts), also called *Pachisi* and *Chausar*, the difference consisting not in the rules of the game or in the manner of playing but in minor and negligible details¹⁰⁴. Akbar substituted human figures for the pieces of *Chaupar* and turned it into the amusing game of *Chandal-mandal*¹⁰⁵. The game of *Chaugan* was very popular with the Muslim aristocracy¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰⁰ Compare *Baharistan*, II, 637; Badauni (Haig), III, 419, 467; Ovington, p. 267; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 308. For a description of the various mode of playing chess see Bland, *Persian Game of Chess*, London, 1850.

¹⁰¹ *Tajziyat-ul-Amsar* of Abdullah Wassaf, p. 163.

¹⁰² Manucci, II, 460.

¹⁰³ Badauni, Lowe, II, 324.

¹⁰⁴ Compare *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 579; II, 534. See *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 333-335 for modern *Chaupar*.

¹⁰⁵ Compare *Ain-i-Akbari*, text, I, 219 for a description of *Chandal-mandal*.

¹⁰⁶ Abul Fazl says: "...the game of *Chaugan*, which strengthens onsets and hand to hand encounters, there is education for the strenuous, and improvement for horses...His Majesty regards the pastime as worship under the guise of sport". *Akbarnama*, Beveridge III, 242. The game of *Chaugan* is the origin of the modern game of "polo", the *Chaugan* called in Arabic *Saulajan* is a name applied to a stick with a curved extremity. Curling locks are called *chaugan-i-sumbul*. A pony which is fit for the game of *Chaugan* is called *Chaugani*. Vide *Burhan-i-Qati'a*.

Hunting (*shikar*) was another favourite pastime of the Muslims. Jahangir recommends hunting with falcon (*shahin*) as the best of all good hunting amusements¹⁰⁷. Some persons took delight in racing Arabian dogs and horses, cockfighting and pigeon-flying, the latter being called by the romantic name of '*Ishq-bazi* (love-making)¹⁰⁸. Fencing, wrestling, arrow-shooting and combats of animals were popular all over the country. It is interesting to note that the orthodox section of the Muslim community never looked with favour most of these innocent forms of amusements and specially cards, chess and *chaupar* were vehemently condemned¹⁰⁹.

Section 4. Muslim Womanhood.

The position of women in Islam has been treated from the juridical point of view by the learned judge and scholar Ameer Ali. What Islam has done to raise the status of women under the Shari'at and in society may be read in his *Spirit of Islam*. Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, herself a foreigner and an inmate of an aristocratic harem for sometime, has written from first-hand knowledge much about Muslim women and life in a Muslim harem in her book, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*. We find a powerful indictment on the un-Islamic growth of unwieldy harems of the royalty in Muslim countries in Princess Djavidan Hanum's *Harem Life*, which gives a graphic description of the sad and savage plight of the fair sex out of her own experience of an Egyptian harem. However, the picture is too bright on one side and too dark on the other, the latter having been a study of female society in a profligate court of a decadent age. A historical portrayal of female society in the Mughal Empire from contemporary Indo-Persian literature and account of foreign travellers is

¹⁰⁷ *Tuzuk*, II, 60.

¹⁰⁸ Compare *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 298; Badauni (Haig), III, 22; II, Lowe, p. 69. For Muslim sports and pastimes see Roe and Fryer, pp. 310, 311.

¹⁰⁹ Compare for a controversy over these *Tajziyat-ul-Amsar*, p. 171; '*Ujaz-i-Khusravi*, I, 179.

an interesting study. We should shake off our prejudice against adverse remarks of European travellers, because, their eyes discerned accurately what escapes the notice of our people.

The Prophet of Arabia effected a revolution in the life of Arab women. He gave them much in the form of legal rights, though he took away something of their social amenities by the strict injunction of the *Pardah* (seclusion)¹¹⁰. He was after all a man of the man's age believing not in the equality of the two sexes in everything like a moderner of this age of sex-revolt against man's superiority,—which, however, may become a thing of the past tomorrow. The Prophet's sayings are not always as favourable to women as his legislation. In Islam man kept down women by quoting the Prophet's sayings against them, and women may retort by saying that these were words of a man coming mostly through men and interpreted by men to the disfavour of the weaker sex. As regards legal status, the Prophet assessed women at half the worth of a man as a witness before the Qazi, two women being held equivalent to one male¹¹¹. It is said that the Prophet saw more women in hell than men. The good Khalif Abu Bakr held that reliance on women led to humiliation and the pious Ali's wise apophthegms regarding women are even less favourable. The general opinion of the Muslims about women was that they were "not to be relied on like men; because even if women belong to a trustworthy and great family, yet they themselves do not belong to that class which characterise a trustworthy person"¹¹². Notwithstanding all this it is a historical fact that the influence of women whether in the royal harem or in humble households was very great in Muslim society, though man's superiority complex or brutality broke out at times. Khalif Mansur in his injunction to his son Mahdi warned "Beware of giving women any

¹¹⁰ See Sultan Jahan Begam, *Al-Hijab, or Why Pardah is Necessary*, for Islamic injunctions on female seclusion.

¹¹¹ For position of women in Islam and relevant 'Traditions and extracts from the Quran bearing on the subject see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, art. 'Women'.

¹¹² *Baharistan*, I, 344.

control"; and Mahdi turned out only a puppet in the hands of his wife, Khaizuran (mother of Harun), all through his caliphate. Harun's wife, Zubaida Khatun, proved ultimately more powerful than the all-powerful Barinacids. Turkish women were equally aggressive. The influence of women in the Caliphate reached its zenith in the hands of Khalif Muqtadir's Turkish mother¹¹³. The old and faithful Nizam-ul-Mulk Iusi, after having served three generations of the Great Saljuqs, was forced to vacate his wazirship by the imperious queen of Sultan Malik Shah. The old wazir had his revenge on the whole female sex, and steeled man's heart against women in his book, *Siyasatnama*, warning mankind for all time to come: "*Ze-dastan ra zabardast na kunaid*" (Don't give the upper hand to those who are under you). There were not many to follow this advice, and therefore women remained nevertheless *zabardast* in the middle ages. This was particularly so with the women of Iran, who under the Safavis wielded power and influence in administration as mothers, sisters or queens.

The condition of Muslim women has differed from time to time and from country to country. In Hindustan, during our period, the women lost the proud position of free Arab women, and occupied definitely a subordinate position having been subjected to the will of their polygamous master¹¹⁴. Nevertheless, the women were treated as the honour of the family and no sacrifice was thought too gret to maintain it¹¹⁵. The women themselves fought in defence of their honour and

¹¹³ Compare Margoliouth, *Umayyads and Abbasids*, pp. 229-231.

¹¹⁴ "The Women are conformable to the Wills of their Husbands, being truly no more than their chief Slaves; Dressing the Victuals, and Waiting till their Lords have Dined, before they Eat themselves". Roe and Fryer, p. 450.

¹¹⁵ Compare *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 290; Bernier, p. 94. Terry says: "But if they (women) dishonour their husbands beds, or being unmarried are found incontinent and filthy, professing chastity, rather than they shall want the severest punishment, their own brothers hand will be first against them to take away their lives; and for so doing, shall be commended, but not questioned". p. 284.

preferred death to ignominy¹¹⁶. The veiled carriage of females was sacred all over the country and nobody dared challenge it¹¹⁷. The system of *Pardah* was strictly observed and no decent woman came out in public except clothed in *Burq'a*¹¹⁸, and that too very rarely¹¹⁹. Only poor women went on foot. Those of quality they were usually carried in covered coaches, specially in *Palkis*¹²⁰. The Muslim jealousy about their wives was proverbial and even near relations were not allowed to have a look on the fair damsels of the family¹²¹. The houses were built with high walls and no dwelling place could be constructed in a particular locality overlooking others¹²². Scrupulous regard was shown to the

¹¹⁶ Badauni, text, I, 388; *Siyar*, trans., I, 418.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 31, 32. Once Mirza Kamran escaped wearing a *Burq'a*. Badauni, text, I, 391. For *Burq'a* see *Infra*.

¹¹⁸ The veil or covering used for the seclusion of women when walking abroad. For a description of *Burq'a* see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 95.

¹¹⁹ Mandelslo, p. 51; *Baharistan*, I, 277; Manucci, I, 62; De Laet, p. 80; Careri, Part III, 252; Terry, p. 203. Akbar made it obligatory that "if a woman was found running about the lanes and bazars of the town, and while so doing either did not veil herself, or allowed herself to become unveiled, . . . was to go to the other side and become a prostitute". Badauni, Lowe, II, 405. Amir Khan was angry with his wife who saved her life at the cost of her *Pardah*. Compare Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's reign*, pp. 159-161.

¹²⁰ Mandelslo, p. 51; *Siyar*, trans., II, 58.

¹²¹ Compare Ovington, p. 210; Bernier, p. 89. Terry states: "The Mahometans who have most wives and women, are most jealous, and their jealousy such, as that they will not suffer the brothers, or fathers of their wives to come to them, or to have any speech with them, except it be in their presence". p. 283. Manucci says: "...Mahomedans are most extraordinarily distrustful upon this chapter; and what deserves mention is that some do not even trust their own brothers, and do not permit their women to appear before them, being jealous of them". Vol. II, 352.

¹²² Compare *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, trans., p. 31 where it is stated that during the Nizamut of Nawab J'affar Khan an English factory chief wanted to erect two and three-storeyed buildings near Hughli. The

privacy of the women's apartment and no one could enter into it without formally making his arrival known¹²⁴. Even the sight of an undressed woman was avoided¹²⁴.

The Muslim women were generally taught religious books. Ibn Batuta says: "All the Musalman women of the town (Hinaur) had the Quran by heart and that it contained 23 schools for boys and 13 for girls, such a thing as he had seen nowhere else in his travels"¹²⁵. The female-children of Aurangzib's harem under his direction "learnt the necessary rules and doctrines of religion, and all engaged in the worship of God, reading and transcribing the Quran, and the acquisition of virtues and provision for the next world"¹²⁶. Nevertheless, the upper strata of the Muslim society produced some women *litterateur* and Muslim poetesses were not unknown¹²⁷. The Muslim women like their Hindu sisters were more religious-minded than the men¹²⁸. The Muslim women, according to Mandelslo, were "very well proportioned, though of low stature"¹²⁹. Jahangir praises the fidelity of Hindu women and notices its absence among Muslims¹³⁰. But the morality of the Muslim women was thrice stronger than those of their male counterparts though

Muslims objected to it and the building work was stopped by the orders of the Nawab. Even elephants were not allowed to pass by the side of the houses without information. See *Baharistan*, II, 523.

¹²³ Compare *Siyar*, trans., II, 58, 59.

¹²⁴ Ibid, II, 44.

¹²⁵ Trans. Lee, pp. 165, 166; Defremery, IV, 64-67. For female education and ceremonies attached see *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 51, 52.

¹²⁶ *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 318.

¹²⁷ The *Humayun Nama* of Gulbadan Begam is well known. For the life of *Nihani* (from *Nihan*, 'hidden'), a poetess, see Badauni (Haig), III, 494, 495. Akbar's second wife, Sultan Salima Begam, Jahangir's wife Nur Jahan and Aurangib's daughter Zeb-un-nisa all wrote under the *takhallus* (*nom de plume*) of *Makhfi* ('concealed').

¹²⁸ Compare Badauni, text, I, 397; P. Della Valle, I, 69.

¹²⁹ Mandelslo, p. 50.

¹³⁰ *Tuzuk*, I, 150,

some laxity was evinced in the urban people¹³¹. The keeping of unwieldy harems by Muslims without paying any regard for their sentiments, might be assigned as one of the main reasons for this¹³².

Section 5. Polygamy and Widow Remarriage.

As far as the spirit of Islamic injunction is concerned monogamy has been recommended as the noblest form of married life, as the condition put upon polygamy by the Prophet to do equal justice to all wives is humanly impossible save by super-man like himself. But the followers of the Prophet imitated his example of polygamy without caring for its spirit. Further, the learned men of Islam played lawyers against God and His Prophet in interpreting the relevant *surah* of the Quran itself, which runs as follows:—

“But if ye cannot do justice between orphans, then marry what seems good to you of women, by twos, or threes, or fours: and if ye fear that ye cannot be equitable, then only one, or what your right hand possesses”¹³³.

Women were comparatively scarce outside India, and therefore the harems of average Muslims were not so large as those of Indian Musalmans. Except Sultan Nasiruddin no Muslim ruler perhaps was content with one wife in the right spirit of Islam, Muslims in general

¹³¹ Ovington remarks: “However the watch is neither so careful, nor their modesty so blameless, but that they sometimes will look abroad for Variety, as well as their roving Husbands do”. p. 210. Thevenot states: “The women of Delhi are handsome and the Gentiles very chaste, insomuch, that if the Mahometan women did not by their wantonness dishonour the rest, the chastity of the Indians might be proposed as an example to all the women of the East”. Part III, p. 47. Mandelslo observes: “They (i.e. women) have also a great kindness for the Eunuchs, in whose custody they are, to engage them to afford them more liberty in their restraint, which they brook so ill, that in those parts a man would think Polygamy should rather be permitted to women than (than) the men”. p. 64.

¹³² Compare Careri, Part III, p. 251.

¹³³ Quran, IV : 3.

considered the maximum of four wives as permissible at a time, though the personnel of four might be changed at pleasure by divorce of old ones to make room for younger. Akbar was the first Muslim ruler, who thought of making marital reforms in Hindustan. He preached the desirability of marrying one wife as his saying goes, "One woman sufficeth for one man"¹³⁴, though he himself married three hundred wives without divorcing any one. One day when the case for monogamy was being vigorously pressed in an assembly by the Emperor himself, his dear foster-brother Mirza Aziz made a retort that four was the minimum for any decent household. When Mirza Aziz was pressed for giving his reasons, he replied: "A man must marry one woman of Hindustan to rear up children; one wife from Khurasan to do the household work; one woman from Iran to keep company and talk." And what about the fourth? Mirza Aziz submitted, "Why? One woman from Trans-Oxiana to whip the other three and keep peace!"¹³⁵

The question of the legal number of wives brought the venerable Shaikh Abdunnabi into trouble in the *Ibadat-khana*. Akbar openly accused that he had told him before that a man could lawfully marry eighteen wives, and now he said something else¹³⁶. In fact, the trouble was over the interpretation of the Quranic passage quoted before, and the Mulla rendered the Arabic word *masna*, "double". So the number added came to be eighteen. It is further mentioned in the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* that one learned Maulvi married eight wives, because he read the verse—"Two *plus* three *plus* four", i. e., nine in all, keeping room for one more perhaps in future¹³⁷. However, Abul Fazl defends Akbar's inconsistency between preaching and personal practice on the ground of political expediency and charity of heart!

¹³⁴ Compare Badauni, Lowe, II, 367.

¹³⁵ Compare *Iqbalnama*, text, pp. 230, 231; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 327.

¹³⁶ Badauni, text, II, 270.

¹³⁷ Ibid, p. 270. For a detailed discussion over this subject see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. 'Polygamy'.

The Muslim community of Hindustan suffered more from the evils of polygamy and female seclusion in medieval times than in the present age. Polygamy was a luxury of the rich and a liability thoughtlessly incurred even by men of poorer means. The household of a great Amir was a veritable stud for multiplying the human species, and in spite of all their care to bring up their sons the race was bound to degenerate. A noble family almost vanished out of the pages of history, as the *Maasir-ul-Umara* bears out. Wives and their seclusion in a noble family were an economic drain. Besides, a host of maidservants and eunuchs were in demand in every household¹³⁸. As regards the standard of taste and necessity Mirza Aziz's humorous remark itself is eloquent enough. A harem was a perpetual source of anxiety both for the rich and the poor. Domestic harmony and peace could not be expected in a polygamous household, the poor husband being the centre of intrigue and torment¹³⁹. The countryside saying goes: "If you have one wife only walk confidently into your house after absence; if two you should stop outside and strain your ears for noise inside; if more than two, better go first to your neighbour and be satisfied that nothing untoward has happened". In the countryside a Muslim cultivator in the grip of *Pardah* is at a decisive disadvantage in comparison with the Hindu; because his wives cannot work in the field, and he must run home to fetch water from the well for the family leaving ploughing and sowing. Conditions must have been more deplorable when the Muslim had to

¹³⁸ *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., pp. 105, 237; *Siyar*, trans., I, 135; Manucci, II, 42. The eunuchs were the connecting link between the two isolated camps of men and women. It is interesting to note that the eunuchs felt the passions of love though entirely devoid of virility. Compare *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 514, 515; Bernier, p. 131; Manucci, II, 80, 81.

¹³⁹ Compare Careri, Part III, 251. Mandelslo says: "Their Polygamy hath this convenience in it that there is no woman, but uses all industry and Artifice imaginable to gain her husband's affection, and defeat her Rivals. All the caresses, all the kindnesses she can think of she makes use of to ingratiate herself". p. 64.

keep up the prestige of a ruling race. Usually in a polygamous Muslim household the first wife, that is the wife by the first marriage, was the most honoured one (*Haram-i-muhtaram*) and she had the precedence in all matters where dignity was to be preserved. She had a control over the management of the household affairs and took charge of other wives of her husband, though the younger ones were sure to become the cynosure of the eyes of their master¹⁴⁰.

Widow remarriage created further complications in a family when widows came with their children by former husbands. Badauni gives the story of a poor Muslim who declared the following categories of sons: (i) My sons (i.e. by a former wife or wives); (ii) my wife's sons (i.e. born of her former husbands and brought into the family); (iii) my and my wife's sons (i.e. those born in new wedlock). Another evil which Akbar attempted to reform was the propensity of old women of means marrying young husbands. Such marriages were not unlawful though injurious. It is rather strange that Akbar did not express himself against old men marrying young girls. Though child marriage as in Hinduism is not enjoined in Islam though the Prophet married Bibi 'Aisha before she reached her teens, it appears that the Muslim community of India had fallen in line with Hindus in this respect. Akbar legislated against child marriage by making an age of puberty to be certified by the City Kotwal. This useful but *anti-Shari'at* legislation was more or less a dead letter behind the Emperor's back¹⁴¹.

Section 6. Women and Politics.

Though the Prophet of God on his death-bed said to his most beloved wife Hazrat 'Aisha that women should not meddle in public affairs, she was forced by circumstances afterwards to oppose Hazrat Ali's

¹⁴⁰ Compare *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 841; Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations etc.*, p. 215.

¹⁴¹ For Akbar's regulations regarding marriages see *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 277, 278.

election to the caliphate by the regicides. Since then Muslim women have not desisted from taking part in politics whenever opportunities appeared, howsoever statesmen and moralists might decri women's opinion in Islam. Muslim women of Hindustan were generally less assertive of their right than the women of Persia. Mirza Muhammad Zaman wanted to take the consent of the ladies of the harem of Sultan Bahadur of Gujrat to utilise their gold and ornaments in raising an army. The ladies replied : "He was mistaken if he thought that they had as great a right of interference in affairs of state as the ladies of Persia had ; that their income and maintenance was fixed and that they had nothing to do with state affairs ; that he had best represent the matter to the ministers and nobles and consult them"¹⁴². But in Mughal harem the case was otherwise. It required all the tact of Humayun's mother to save the throne for her against the plot of Mir Kalan. Though Humayun was more manageable than his father, he was more under the influence of opium than of women. Akbar was too towering and too tough a personality to be swayed by women in politics and public affairs. He tolerated Maham Anaga's ascendancy for two years only to put himself on the saddle tightly biding his time with vigilance. Maham's failure to rise above the weakness of a mother made her unworthy of rule. The murder of two slave girls spirited away from Akbar's custody by her son Adham Khan evidently at her connivance as told by Abul Fazl and Badauni throws enough reflection on Turkish women in pursuit of political game. In later years even Akbar's mother and chief consort, Turkish Sultana Begam, by their united efforts could not secure pardon for a Sunni Muslim who had murdered purely out of religious fanaticism a Shia in the city of Lahore. What calamities a woman's regime might bring on a husband have been detailed by Abul Fazl in his notice of the activities of Haram Begam, wife of the good-natured Mirza Sulaiman of Badakhshan, who ultimately lost his heritage

¹⁴² *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., p. 203.

and came to Akbar's court as a suppliant¹⁴³. No woman had wielded more power and for such a long time as Nur Jahan Begam. Her ambition to rule the Empire and the would-be Emperor even after the death of Jahangir, and intrigues to safeguard her ascendancy created troubles during the last few years of Jahangir's reign. Nevertheless, she proved herself more than a match for the ablest soldiers and politicians of her age. However, she played the strict and affectionate nurse to her libertine husband, mother to orphans of the poor, a leader of female society, economic and tasteful, and died as a *khadima* of her husband's mausoleum as became the ideal of noble womanhood.

The political role of Shahjahan's daughters, the saintly Jahanara, and the revengeful and unscrupulous Raushanara, are common facts of history. Sisters of Mumtaz Mahal married to J'afar Khan and Khalilullah Khan, led their six-*hazari* husbands by the nose all through. In the reign of Aurangzib his daughters, Zebunnisa and Zinatunnisa, wielded power over the mighty Emperor. Their sweet and affectionate influences served as a brake on her father's severity and incautious religiosity in politics. The captive widow of Shambhuji and her infant son Sahu owed their lives, safety and faith to Zinatunnisa Begam, who shielded them from her father's wrath.

In later times also woman was never out of the picture in politics in Muslim society. Nawab Qudsia Begam, wife of Muhammad Shah and Mughlani Begam, wife of Zakaria Khan, governor of the Punjab, were the types of female politicians of these days. Later on, the scene shifted to Faizabad and Lucknow, and there the Begams of Oudh kept up the old tradition of Delhi.

In Bengal also women took no insignificant part in politics and state affairs. Ali Vardi Khan's Begam played the role of Supreme Political Officer, whilst her husband fought the battles with the Marathas. It is stated in the *Siyar-ul-Mutakhhirin* that one day Ali Vardi Khan at Patna after fighting with the Marathas under Raghoji Bhosla entered the

¹⁴³ *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 212.

Begam's *boudoir* with an anxious look. The Begam enquired what the matter was, when Ali Vardi Khan replied that this time he feared treachery from his own soldiers and officers. There on, the Begam on her own initiative and her own responsibility organised a political mission, and sent it to Raghoji's camp, to arrange for a treaty of peace. Raghoji fell in with the proposal, but his Chief Adviser, Mir Habib, dissuaded him, and advised him to make a dash for Murshidabad, holding out the prospect of loot¹⁴⁴. Murshid Quli Khan II was himself averse to fight with Ali Vardi Khan, owing to a sense of feebleness. But his brave wife Durdanah Begam, encouraged and inspired him to fight, in order to avenge her brother Sarfraz Khan's fall, and threatened that in case her husband failed to do so, she would supplant him from the Government of Orissa, and raise to the *gadi* her son-in-law, Mirza Baqir Ali Khan, in his place. Murshid Quli Khan gave way to his wife's influence and resolved to fight Ali Vardi Khan¹⁴⁵. In the South Chand Sultana gave no unworthy account of herself as an adversary of Akbar in war and diplomacy. Firishta tells how Dilshad Agha, sister of Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur, and Punji Khatun¹⁴⁶, the Queen-mother, came out disregarding *Pardah*, "dressed as men, and clad in armour, with bows and arrows in their hands" to defend the title of young Ismail Adil Shah¹⁴⁷.

Section 7. Moral Excellences and Failings of the Community.

The family as the unit of society reflects the virtues and failings of the average man. If a father was to be implicitly obeyed, the mother was to be worshipped in a Muslim household; because, the Prophet of God said, "Paradise lies beneath thine mother's feet". Reverence to

¹⁴⁴ Compare *Siyar*, trans., II, 11 ff.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, text, p. 496.

¹⁴⁶ Briggs in his translation of *Tarikh-i-Firishta* wrongly gives the name as Bubuji Khanam. Compare text, III, 26.

¹⁴⁷ Briggs' *Firishta*, III, 41, 42.

the mother was a pre-Islamic virtue also. An ailing Arab warrior, Sakhr, whose wife Sulaima had become too tired of nursing to wish him alive, thus records his feelings :

“The mother of Sakhr through Sakhr’s long ailing
Tires not; ’tis his consort whose patience is failing.
May that man live in trouble and shame all his life
Who prizes his mother no more than his wife”¹⁴⁸.

Our Kabirji, himself a poor Muslim weaver, echoes the feelings of medieval Muslim society in the same strain:

*Jab lag jive mata rauve, bahin rauve das masa;
Lapti jhapti tiriya rauve phi ghar ki asa.*

That is (after our death), mother will weep as long as she lives, and sister for ten months. The wives will cry aloud rolling on the ground with dishevelled hair and refusing consolation, but wishing all the while a new home (with another husband). Man in that age would more readily forgive disobedience to father than any offence to mother. Father was honoured as “the *K’aba* and *Qibla* of both the worlds” at least officially, though we cannot help smiling when Jahangir in his Autobiography weeps at the sight of good mangoes which Akbar liked, and kicks at the tomb of Sultan Nasiruddin Khilji of Malwa for his sin of rebelling against his own father!

Modern civilization has proved a solvent on Medieval Indian virtues, and reversed the position of mother and wife to a great extent in the modern household, where the wife aspires to rule supreme over mothers and sisters.

Woman in every age has suffered from the primitive savagery that clings to man in spite of his evolution from the ape stage to the divine. In medieval times man’s attitude to women finds expression in the following lines of Malik Muhammad Jaisi whether the man be a Rajput or a Muslim :

¹⁴⁸ Margoliouth, *Umayyads and Abbasids*, p. 6.

*Tiriya bhumi kharag ki cheri,
 Jit jo kharag hui tehi ki ri ;
 Jehi ghar kharag monchh tehi garhi,
 Jahan na kharag monchh nahin darhi*¹⁴⁹.

(Women and territory are the hand-maids of the sword. They belong to him who conquers them by sword. Moustaches (i. e. honour) grow thick on him who has the sword in his house. Without sword there is neither beard nor moustaches).

. Such was the moral maxim as well as practice in medieval India where captive beauty was an eternal inspiration for *jihad* as well as an incentive to unholy violence. In spite of big harems there was no dearth of loafers and scoundrels peeping at their neighbours' windows and walking the street with eyes out for hunt on good folks' roofs and terraces. What Kabir says of the rakes of *Kāshi* (Banaras) was true of wicked Muslims also in the cities of Agra and Delhi. The vice of abduction was a noble sort of *jihad* and a man caught and punished was hailed as a martyr to love. And theologians debated whether the honours of a martyr were due to an abductor of Hindu women!¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ *Padmavat*, Nagiri Pracharini Sabha edition, p. 284.

¹⁵⁰ Compare the anecdote of Sayyid Musa and Mohini. Badauni, Lowe, II, 113 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

INDIAN ISLAM IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

Section 1. Mahdist Movement: A Reformation or Reaction?

God has promised to send a Mahdi (the comforter, paraclete or restorer)¹ at the time of spiritual crisis in Islam². There are numerous traditions bearing on this promised Messiah. Some are ascribed to the Prophet himself and a few to Ali, the fourth Khalif of Islam³. It had been foretold that he would find the world full of evils, oppressions and

¹ *Al-Mahdi*. Lit. "The Directed One", hence, "who is fit to direct others, Guide, Leader". A ruler who shall in the last days appear upon the earth. According to the Shias, he has already appeared in the person of Muhammad Abul Qasim, the twelfth Imam, who is believed to be concealed in some secret place waiting for a fresh manifestation once more before the end of the world. But the Sunnis say he has not yet appeared. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 305. He is also styled as *Sahib-i-Zaman*, "the Lord of the Age".

² The idea of a restorer is common to other religions as well. The Hindus believe in the coming of *Kalki-Avatar*. The Jews, Christians and Nazareans also have the same belief.

³ For relevant traditions see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v. '*Al-Mahdi*'; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v.; *Rauzat-ul-Aiminah* vide *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, iii, iv.

ungodliness and a man uttering the name of *Allah* would be killed. The Mahdi would fill the world with equity and justice and the men would be beaten to death unless they return to God (*al-Haq*). The Muslims would enjoy such prosperity and happiness as were never heard of before. He was to explain the Quran as revealed to Muhammad and enforce the observance of its principles⁴. This idea of a go-back to Muhammad and the dream of the millennium has been skilfully exploited by several impostors. More than one Mahdi was proclaimed in different parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe—always expected, never appearing in truth—so that it became a proverbial expression among the Arabs to denote tardiness: “*as slow as Mahdi*”. Badauni, in his *Najat-ur-Rashid*, gives a few particulars regarding the Mahdawi movement in Badakhshan, from where the idea seems to have spread over Persia and in India. In Badakhshan, it was commenced by Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh (795-869 A.H.), a pupil of Abu Ishaq Khatlani, who gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances, that troops were sent against him in the time of Sultan Shahrukh (Timurid, 807-850 A.H.). He was defeated and fled to Iraq, in the mountainous districts of which country he is said to have gained thirty thousand followers. He had often to fight with the governors, but defied them all. Badauni has preserved a copy of the proclamation which Nurbakhsh had sent to all the saints of his time⁵.

In India as well, at different times, many impostors or self-deluded enthusiasts laid claim to being the promised Mahdi. There was in Delhi a man named Ruknuddin, who was hailed as Imam Mahdi, because there is no dearth of religious fools in any age to bolster up such fanciful pretensions. He said that he had not read or studied under anyone (in keeping with the character of the Holy Prophet), and that he knew the names of all things, a knowledge which no prophet had acquired since

⁴ *Encyclopædia of Islam*, III, 114.

⁵ There is a detailed biography of Sayyid Muhammad Nurbakhsh in *Majalis-ul-Muminin* of Qazi Nurullah of Shushter. Compare *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, iv note; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, III, 961.

Adam. He further claimed that the mysteries of the science of letters (*‘ilm-i-huruf*) had been revealed to him in a way never made known to any other man, and that he had written books upon the subject⁶. He led people astray into mystic practices, and perverted ideas by maintaining that he was Ruknuddin (Pillar of the Faith), the prophet of God. He was killed with some of his supporters by the orders of Sultan Firuz Tughlaq⁷. About a century after this religious fever burst into high temperature in the body politic of Islam with the appearance of Mir Sayyid Muhammad who gave the movement in India a definite form and programme. He was the son of Mir Sayyid Khan of Jaunpur, who claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet himself. The fall of Jaunpur though at the hands of equally pious Pathans, was to him a sign that the latter days had come; extraordinary events which looked like miracles, marked his career; and a voice from heaven had whispered to him—(though there was no cave of Hira near about!)—the words, “*Anta Mahdi*”, “thou art Mahdi”. Some people indeed say that Mir Sayyid Muhammad did not mean to declare that he was the promised Mahdi; but there is no doubt that he insisted on his mission as the Lord of the Age (*Sahib-i-Zaman*). He gained many adherents, chiefly through his great oratorical powers, but pressed by enemies he went to Gujrat, where he found an adherent in Sultan Mahmud I. From Gujrat he proceeded, at the request of the king and to the joy of numerous enemies, on a pilgrimage to Mecca. From there also he seems to have been driven away. On his return, it was revealed to him that his teaching was vexatious, and he said to his disciples that accompanied him, “God has removed from my heart the burden of Mahdi. If I safely return, I shall recant all”. But when he reached the town of Farah in Baluchistan, where his arrival had created a great sensation, he died (911 A. H.; 1505 A. D.). His tomb became a place of general pilgrimage, although Shah Isma‘il and Shah Tahmasp

⁶ Perhaps he was taught writing also by Allah!

⁷ *Fatuh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Elliot and Dowson, III, 378, 379.

tried to destroy it⁸.

The cause of Mahdism was later on taken up by Shaikh Alai and Mian Abdullah Niyazi⁹. Shaikh Alai was a Bengali Musalman. His father had been looked upon in his country as a learned saint, and after visiting Mecca, he had settled, in 935 A.H., with his younger brother Nasrullah, likewise a learned man, at Bianah, south-west of Agra, where they soon became respected and influential men. Shaikh Alai had shown from his youth the learning of the lawyer and the rigour of the saint; and on the death of his father, he gathered numerous pupils around himself. "But the love of power issues at last from the heads of the just", and on the day of the 'Id, he kicked an influential Shaikh from the *haudah*, and, supported by his brothers and elder relatives, he proclaimed that he alone was worthy of being the Shaikh of the town.

About the same time Mian Abdullah Niyazi, a disciple of the Jaunpuri Mahdi, arrived from Mecca, and settled at a retired spot on the ridge of Sikri near Bianah. Like his master, he was a man of oratorical powers and was given to street preaching; and in a short time he gained numerous followers among the wood-cutters and water-carriers. Shaikh Alai also was overawed by the impressive addresses of Mian Abdullah; he gave up teaching and struggling for local influence, turned *faqir*, told his wife either to follow him to the wilderness or to go her way, distributed his whole property, even his books, among the poor adherents of the Niyazi, and joined the fraternity which they had formed. The brethren had established among themselves community of property, divided the earnings obtained by begging, and gave up all

⁸ For an account of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri see *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, English trans., pp. 217, 218; Briggs' *Firishta*, III, 277; *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, trans., 90, 91; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, iv, v; Jarret, III, 373; Badauni, text, I, 319; Haig, III, 58, 59; *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, II, Article No. XIV, pp. 297-311.

⁹ Prof. Blochmann in his Introduction to *Ain-i-Akbari* (Vol. I) styles Shaikh Alai and Mian Abdullah Niyazi as *Mahdis*. They were not *Mahdis* but *Mahdawis*. See *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 195, 196 note.

work, because it was said in the Quran, "Let not men be allured by trade or selling to give up meditating on God". Religious meetings were daily held after the five prayers, which the brethren said together, and wherever they went they appeared armed to teeth. They soon felt strong enough to interfere in municipal matters, and inspected the bazars and removed by force all articles forbidden by the Law, defying the magistrates, if opposed to them, or assisting them, if of their opinion. Their ranks increased daily, and matters in Bianah had come to such a pass, that fathers separated themselves from their children and husbands from their wives. Shaikh Alai's former position and the thoroughness of his spirit of sacrifice had given him the rank of the second leader; in fact, he soon outdid Mian Abdullah in earnestness and successful conversions, and the latter at last tried to rid himself of his rival by sending him with six or seven hundred armed men towards Mecca. Alai marched with his band over Basawar to Khawaspur, converting and preaching on the way, but on account of some obstacles they all returned to Bianah.

Shaikh Alai's fame at last reached the ear of Islam Shah, who summoned him to Agra; and although the king was resolved to put him to death as a dangerous demagogue, and was even offended at the rude way in which Alai behaved in his presence, he was so charmed by an impromptu address which Alai delivered on the vanities of the world and the pharisaism of the learned, that he sent cooked provisions to Alai's men. To the amusement of the Afghan nobles and generals at court, Alai on another occasion defeated the learned on questions connected with the advent of Mahdi, and Islam Shah was day after day informed that one more of his nobles had gone to Alai's meetings and joined the new sect.

The learned at court, however, were not to be baffled by Alai's success, and the influence of Makhdum-ul-Mulk Abdullah Sultanpuri¹⁰,

¹⁰ He was the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* and *Sadr-us-Sudur* and from the time of Sher Shah till the reign of Akbar, he had held the title of "Makhdum-ul-Mulk" (served by the empire). For details see Badauni, text, I, 393; Lowe, II, 687; Haig, III, 113-118, 98-99 *note*.

the head of the theologians at court, was so great, that he at last prevailed on the king to banish the Shaikh. Alai and his followers readily obeyed the command, and set out for the Deccan. Whilst at Handia on the Narbada, the frontier of Islam Shah's empire, they succeeded in converting Bahar Khan Azam Humayun and half his army, and the king on hearing of this last success cancelled his orders and recalled Shaikh Alai.

About the same time (955 A.H.), Islam Shah left Agra in order to put down disturbances in the Punjab caused by the Niyazi Afghans, and when he arrived in the neighbourhood of Bianah, Makhdum-ul-Mulk drew the king's attention to Mian Abdullah Niyazi, who after Shaikh Alai's departure for the Deccan roamed about in the hills of the Bianah district with three or four hundred armed men, and was known to possess great influence over men of his own clan, and consequently over the Niyazi rebels in the Punjab. Islam Shah ordered the governor of Bianah, who had become a Mahdawi, to bring Mian Abdullah to him. The governor advised his religious leader to conceal himself; but Mian Abdullah boldly appeared before the king, and so displeased him by his neglect of etiquette, that Islam Shah gave orders to beat him to death. The king watched on horseback for an hour the execution of the punishment, and only left when Mian Abdullah lay apparently lifeless on the ground.

But he was with much care brought back to life. He concealed himself for a long time, renounced all Mahdawi principles, and got as late as 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) from Akbar a freehold. He died more than ninety years old, in 1000 A.H., at Sarhind ¹¹.

Islam Shah after quelling the Niyazi disturbances, returned to Agra, but almost immediately afterwards his presence was again required in the Punjab, and it was there that Shaikh Alai joined the royal camp. When Islam Shah saw the Shaikh, he said to him in a low voice, "Whisper into my ear that you recant, and I will not trouble you". But Shaikh

¹¹ Badauni visited him in Sarhind, and it was from Abdullah that he heard of Mir Sayyid Muhammad's repentance before death. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, viii note.

Alai would not do so, and Islam Shah to keep up the appearance of authority, ordered a menial to give him by way of punishment a few cuts with the whip in his presence. Shaikh Alai had then scarcely recovered from an attack of the plague, which for several years had been raging in India, and had a few badly healed wounds on his neck. Whilst he got the cuts, one of the wounds broke open, and Alai fainted and died. His body was now thrown under the feet of an elephant, and orders were given that no one should bury him, when all at once, according to the pious credulity of Badauni, to the terror of the whole camp and the king who believed that the last day had dawned, a most destructive cyclone broke forth. When the storm abated, Alai's body was found literally buried among roses and other flowers, and an order was now forthcoming to have the corpse interred¹². People prophesied the quick end of Islam Shah and the downfall of his house¹³.

The death of Shaikh Alai was a great triumph for the Court Ulema, and a vigorous persecution of all Mahdawi disciples was the immediate result. The persecution lasted far into Akbar's reign. In fact, the fate of the Mahdawi movement was disappointing even in the life-time of Sayyid Muhammad. The orthodox Musalmans styled him as an impostor and a cheat. The Mahdawis committed a blunder in forming political factions when they soon lost their spiritual significance. Sultan Muzaffar I of Gujrat (1513-1526) and Aurangzib during his governorship of Ahmadabad (1645) put to death a number of these Mahdawis. Nevertheless, there grew up a fraternity known as Mahdawis. They believe that Sayyid Muhammad was the last Imam and the promised Mahdi. They credited him with the power of working miracles, raising the dead;

¹² This happened in 957 A.H. (1550 A.D.). The circumstances connected with Alai's death resemble the end of Sidi Maula during the reign of Jalaluddin Firuz Shah Khilji. Badauni, text, I, 171, 172, 409.

¹³ For an account of Shaikh Alai and Abdullah Niyazi see *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 191-196; Badauni (Haig), III, 73-77; text, I, 394-409; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, Introduction; Dorn, *History of the Afghans*, Annotations, Part II, pp. 112-114.

healing the blind and the dumb etc. The Mahdawis neither pray for the souls of their dead, nor feel any necessity to repent for their sins. They observe certain ceremonies peculiar to themselves at marriages and funerals. The orthodox Muslims and the Shias alike condemn the Mahdawis, and call them '*Ghair-Mahdi*' (i.e. those who do not believe in a Mahdi who is still to come). But the Mahdawis themselves apply this designation for their opponents who disbelieve the true Mahdi who had already appeared¹⁴. The genuine and the last Mahdi (*Mahdi Akhir-uz-Zaman*) is yet to come when the Earth will finish its cycle according to the Muslim belief. But the outburst of a self-styled Mahdi is indicative of the fact that Islam badly needed a Restorer. One notable feature of the Mahdawi movement was that it aimed at freeing Islam from the clutches of the Ulema at court who had formed a hierarchy in spite of the fact that Islam has given no recognition to the state clergy. It was a plebeian revolt of the simple-hearted followers of the faith of the Prophet against the patrician clergy who had monopolized everything without imparting any benefit to the community—neither spiritual nor temporal.

The series of pretenders who claimed to be the Imam Mahdi did not end here. In 1569, Shah Arif, a darvesh of the Shia persuasion, who claimed relationship to Shah Tahmasp of Persia, arrived in Kashmir from Lahore; where he had for some time lived under the protection of Husain Quli Khan, governor of the Punjab. Ali Shah Chuk, the Kashmiri, who was himself a Shia, was so pleased with Shah Arif, that he gave him his daughter in marriage; while others worshipped him most devoutly and declared him to be Imam Mahdi. This infatuation carried them so far, that they resolved to dethrone Ali, and to raise Shah Arif to the government. The moment the king heard this, he took measures to persecute the darvesh. The holy man gave out that he would, by means of his sanctity, convey himself to Lahore in one day; and on the following morning disappeared. His disciples concluded that he had been

¹⁴ Compare *Encyclopædia of Islam*, III, 111; *Qanun-i-Islam*, pp. 208, 209.

transported by means of his art to some other country; but he was discovered to have paid a large sum to the ferryman to carry him across the river, and was overtaken at Baramoola, whither he had travelled. He again escaped, and was taken at the hill of Mehtar Sulaiman. The king fined him one thousand *ashrafis*, and taking away his daughter from him, compelled him to quit the kingdom¹⁵. In 1577, Sharif Amuli of Badaun put forward his claims to be the restorer of the Millennium¹⁶. The sensation was immense. Akbar invited him to a private audience. Something did happen. He enrolled himself as a disciple of Akbar, and in the *Dabistan* he figures perhaps as the Philosopher on the imaginary stage of religious squabbles of the *Ibadat-khana*. Badauni immortalises him by a couplet:

“There is a fool, Sharif by name ;

Who talks big though of doubtful fame !”

However, his influence with Akbar was considerable. The Emperor sent him to Bihar and Bengal as his *Khalifa* on a mission¹⁷. Even in modern times more than one person have come forward as the promised Mahdi both in India and abroad, and perhaps more would be coming in future.

Section 2. Clash of Orthodoxy and Liberalism.

With the accession of Akbar the growth of liberalism in Indian Islam was speeded up. Akbar's early career was one of deep devotion to Islam. But the worldliness and deception of celebrated theologians like Shaikh Abdunnabi and Makhdum-ul-Mulk Abdullah Sultanpuri, their uncompromising attitude on any controversial point of Shari'at, their quarrels in the *Ibadat-khana* which passed from the tongue to blows and abuses, made him disgusted with Islam itself. He gave a chance to the

¹⁵ Briggs' *Firishta*, IV, 521, 522.

¹⁶ Badauni, text, II, 245; Lowe, II, 252, 253.

¹⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 452. Jahangir in his memoirs praises him very much. *Tuzuk*, I, 47, 48, 90,

fanatic Mullas to improve, they failed and incurred the Emperor's anger and distrust¹⁸. The mystic in Akbar was thirsty for the peace of the soul at the fountain of Islam at first; but he found only mud in the verbal jugglery, insincerity, mutual contradiction, and violent outbursts of learning without reason, thrown up by the self-styled pillars of Islam. Nevertheless, he clung to the spirit of Islam shaking off the opaque screen of theology and unfettered by the outward conformity to the injunctions of the Shari'at and the Quran *in toto*. It is ridiculous to bring charges of apostasy from Islam and irreligiousness against him. But the liberalism of the Age of Akbar was an eyesore to the orthodox section of the Muslim theologians, whose Inquisition would brand ninety per cent as below standard if not *Kafirs* outright. They raised the cry of Islam in danger at the liberal though un-Islamic practices of Akbar. There is no denying the truth, leaving aside what was in the Emperor's heart, that the outward manifestation of the state of affairs if judged from the orthodox point of view, was a complete departure from the observances of the faith of the Prophet. Akbar in his reformist zeal transgressed the bounds of caution. All his new measures were not needed for the stability of the Empire. He unnecessarily encroached upon the Muslim religion in many cases. Abdul Qadir Badauni, a typical Mulla, has enumerated all the innovations of his time and given, perhaps, an over-drawn picture of the prevalent conditions in a language unsuitable to a historian. But so far as his main thesis is concerned, that is, a departure from the path of Shari'at, he has certainly succeeded in proving it¹⁹.

¹⁸ Badauni states: "...from the time of the establishment of Islam in Hindustan, God... has created the great Shaikhs of this country, just the opposite in nature to the secular princes, viz., always peasant-natured, servile in disposition, and low-minded, and since their pomp and glory has never consisted in smitting with the sword, but in flattering others, in spiritual hypocrisy, and ignominy, and the garb of dignity and honour has ever been too strait for the stature of their ambition". Lowe, II, 22, 23.

¹⁹ Thomas Roe writing from Ajmer in 1617 declares that Akbar died "in the formal profession of his sect". *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India*,

The orthodox greeted the policy of Akbar with angry condemnation. Abul Fazl could not conceal the prevalent unrest when he says that "every faction went about in the streets of ignorance and the back-lanes of wickedness speaking foolishly and spreading calumnies. On every side there arose the dust of commotion and the black smoke of darkness. Assemblage of wickedness congregated together"²⁰. Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, who was at first a bigoted Shia and was appointed *Sadr* at Jaunpur by Akbar, gave a *fatwa* to the effect that rebellion against Akbar, as an enemy to Islam, was lawful. In consequence Muhammad Masum Kabuli, Muhammad Masum Khan Farankhudi, Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk, Niyabat Khan, Arab Bahadur and others, drew the sword and in many places fought some desperate battles²¹. The rebellion in Bengal headed by Baba Khan Jabbari and Wazir Jamil, was also reactionary in its nature²². About the same time Mirza Muhammad Hakim of Kabul

p. 64. A foreign contemporary, Father Botelho wrote: "He (Akbar) died as he was born, a Muhammedan". "The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar", J.A.S.B., Part I, Vol. LXV, 1896. The same authority replied to the Adil Shahi Sultan of Bijapur when questioned about the faith of Akbar as belief was prevalent in Bijapur that Akbar died a Christian: "Sire, I would to God it had been so, but he kept us deluded with such hopes (that he would become a Christian) and died in your sect of Muhammad". Hostens, p. 151. Akbar himself defends the charge of heresy levelled against him. Abdullah Khan Uzbek, the ruler of Turan, coming to know of his unbelief wrote him enquiring into the matter. Akbar gave a reply indicated by the pen of Abul Fazl:

Of God, people have said that He had a son;
Of the Prophet, they have said that he was a sorcerer,
Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men,
Much less I!

Akbarnama, Beveridge, III, 756.

²⁰ Ibid, p. 397. For details see pp. 396-400.

²¹ Badauni, Lowe, II, 284. Also see pp. 214, 267 and *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 541 for Mulla Muhammad Yazdi. Akbar had him arrested and drowned in the Jumna along with Mir Muiz-ul-Mulk. See Badauni, Lowe, II, 285.

²² *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, III, 429 and note, 432.

supported by orthodox Musalmans rebelled against Akbar and made "the pleasant land of India full of the dust of opposition"²³. Akbar, however, succeeded in keeping the reactionary forces under control but orthodoxy triumphed after his death.

Ibid, p. 532.

CHAPTER IX

MUJADDID ALF-I-SANI

Section 1. Need of a Mujaddid.

It is the belief of the Muslims that Islam is the final code of religion as revealed to Muhammad; and that he is the last Prophet (*Khatim-un-Nabi'in*) in the series of one hundred and twenty-four thousand sent by God from time to time before him. Hence, no new religion and no fresh prophet is to be expected to create a *Ummat* (a nation or state). But, in order to overhaul Islam and to restore it to its pristine purity, God will send "*Mujaddids*", it was believed, in the times of spiritual decay and religious crisis. There are many predictions and assurances ascribed to Muhammad himself¹. Nearly in every century after the death of the

¹ There is a very popular tradition: "God will, on the eve of every century, raise a person in this nation (i.e. Islam) who would renew the religion". Vide *Abu Dawd*; *Al-Tibrani*; *Al-Hakim*; *Sahaha*. Another tradition: "In every coming age there will be some pious and competent persons who will stand surety and support this religion. They will refute the changes introduced by the extremists and ignorant persons, and the heretical claims and shall safeguard the religion from them". Vide *Al-Baihaqqi*.

Prophet, there were *Mujaddids* and the Muslims do claim them as the regenerators of Islam².

The distinction between the *Mahdi* and a *Mujaddid* is quite obvious. *Mahdi* means 'restorer', 'comforter' or a 'paraclete'; and *Mujaddid* connotes 'regenerator' or the 'renewer'. *Mahdi*, according to the Traditions, will come when Islam will be at its last gasp in the world. He will be the restorer of the glory of the faith. *Tajdid* (revival) is the function of rescuing Islam from the gloom of ignorance which may have wrapped it, that is, to purge out of Islam un-Islamic accretions. To attempt a compromise with other religions or to effect a synthesis of beliefs is not the meaning of *Tajdid*. Therefore, a person who chalks out a programme for the betterment of the Muslim community at the cost of Islamic principles, is not a *Mujaddid*; he may be a social reformer³.

² The following were the *Mujaddids* of Islam for their respective centuries: Umar bin Abdul Aziz (61-101 A.H.), *Aimna Arb'ah* (the four *Imams*), namely, Imam Abu Hanifah (80-150 A.H.), Imam Malik (95-179 A.H.), Imam Shafi'a (150-204 A.H.), Imam Ahmad bin Hunbal (164-241 A.H.), Ibn Suraij (d. 306 A.H.), Imam Baqillani Muhammad bin Tayyab (d. 403 A.H.) or Imam Asfrayyini Ahmad bin Muhammad (d. 406 A.H.), Imam Ghazzali (450-505 A.H.), Imam Fakhruddin Razi (d. 606 A.H.), Imam Ibn Tamia (661-728 A.H.) and Ibn Daqiq Atid Muhammad bin Ali (d. 702 A.H.), Imam Bulqini Sirajuddin (d. 905 A.H.), Jalaluddin al-Suyuti (d. 911 A.H.) and so on the others. Compare Abul Ala Maududi's *Tajdid wa Ahya-i-Din*. It will be noted that before Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi no *Mujaddid* was born in India. He is the first *Mujaddid* of Islam in this country.

³ Compare Ibid, pp. 28-34. Dr. Beni Prasad has wrongly accused Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi that he claimed to be the promised *Mahdi*. Shaikh Sarhindi was a *Mujaddid* and not the *Mahdi* who is to appear in the later years. See *History of Jahangir*, p. 377 note. The *Mujaddid* Sarhindi himself expressly declared about the arrival of the promised *Mahdi* at some future date. See *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, pp. 190, 238; *Hazrat-ul-Quds*, Urdu trans., II, 52, 76, 77, 114; *Maktubat*, I, No. 32. Dr. Beni Prasad further writes: "My inquiries after Shaikh Ahmad's book (i.e. *Maktubat*) have proved futile". It is feared that a history of Jahangir without any reference whatsoever about the *Mujaddid*'s influence on Mughal politics, will not be complete. The historian of

With the approach of the second millennium the question of a regenerator of Islam in India greatly agitated the minds of the Muslim community, Islam had undergone a change for the worse in Hindustan since its spread in this country. At this critical time for the orthodox Islam in India was born a renewer of the faith, *Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani* Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi⁴. The Mujaddid himself keenly felt the need of a great Reformer and the mantle of responsibility fell on his own shoulders⁵.

Jahangir has taken notice of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi only in a footnote just cited above.

⁴ "*Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani*" means "Regenerator of the second Millennium". The epithet was applied for the first time by Mulla Abdul Hakim Siyalkoti (d. 1067 A.H.), the most illustrious scholar of the day and the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of India during the reign of Shahjahan. *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, p. 176. For Mulla Abdul Hakim Siyalkoti see *Badshah-nama*, I, Part II, pp. 340, 341; II, 755; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, s.v. Shaikh Ahmad himself expressly claims for himself the dignity of being *Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani*. He further writes to Mir Muhammad Numan: "It should be known that after every century (in the past) there were *Mujaddids*. But the *Mujaddid* of thousand years (*Alf*) stands on a different footing from that of a *Mujaddid* of a century. The difference which is between hundred and thousand holds good in the case of these two types of *Mujaddids* rather more than that". *Maktubat*, II, No. 4, pp. 14, 15. Shaikh Ahmad is also designated as *Imam Rabbani*, i.e., "Leader of the Thousand years" or "The Pious Leader". For various meanings of *Rabbani* see *Akbarnama*, Beveridge, I, 152, 153 note.

⁵ In a letter to his son, Khwaja Muhammad Sadiq (1000-1025 A.H.), he stresses: "It is the time when in the nations (*ummat*) of the past in such dark days, a high-spirited prophet used to be sent to renew the religion. In this nation (i.e. Islam) which is the last of all nations and whose Prophet is the last Messenger, its Ulema have been given the status equal to that of the prophets of *Bani Israil* (surname of Yaqub) and the presence of Ulema has been regarded sufficient. Therefore, in every century a *Mujaddid* is appointed from among the Ulema of this nation to bring *Shari'at* to life. Specially after thousand years, which, as it has happened in the past, is the time for the appearance of a great prophet, similarly at this time a God-knowing pious soul is needed to officiate as the prophets of the past nations". *Maktubat*, I, No. 234, p. 255.

Muslims quote in its support several traditions and foretellings of the eminent saints. Many dreams of his own parents are interpreted as heralding the advent of a great religious leader and identify Shaikh Ahmad as the appointed one⁶.

Section 2. Career of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi.

Shaikh Ahmad was born at Sarhind⁷ on Friday, the fourteenth day of Shawwal, 971 A.H. (1563 A.D.) at midnight. His family was known for spiritual greatness and he was a descendant of Umar al-Khattab, the second Khalif of Islam⁸. Shaikh Ahmad himself was proud of his descent⁹. His father Abdul Ahad was a devout saint and an eminent

⁶ There is no definite *Hadis* particularly pointing out the Mujaddid Sarhindi, but indirect inference is drawn from the following mentioned in *Jami-ud-dar* and *Jami-ul-Jawameh*: "A man will arise at the beginning of the eleventh century, who will be a great light and whose name will be the same as mine; (he will arise) amidst tyrant kings; thousands of men will enter Paradise through his intercession". "The Prophet said that 'there will be a man in my nation who will be called a 'conjoiner' through whose intercession there will enter Paradise so-and-so, that is, a large number of people'". Compare *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 19; *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, p. 181; *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyah*, Part I, pp. 37, 38. For miraculous events which happened before and after the birth of Shaikh Ahmad and the relevant prophesies compare *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, p. 127; *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 19 ff.

⁷ Chief town of the *Sarkar* of the same name in *Subah* of Delhi, now in the Patiala State in the Punjab. See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarret, II, 281 and note, 295. Also see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, 552 (*Sirhind*). Sarhind was made a separate *pargana* after detaching it from *Samana* by the orders of Firuz Shah Tughlaq in 760 A.H. Sarhind has been spelt as *Sahrind*. See *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, text, pp. 34, 35.

⁸ The pedigree reaches to Umar Faruq after 28th degrees. See *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 6, 7. Due to this he is also called Shaikh Ahmad Faruqi. Shaikh Shahabuddin Ali styled as Farrukh Shah Kabuli was Shaikh Ahmad's fifteenth ancestor and the clan was known after the former as *Kabuli*. Therefore, Shaikh Ahmad is also known as Shaikh Ahmad Kabuli. Compare *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, pp. 88, 89.

⁹ Compare *Maktubat*, I, No. 100, p. 122; II, No. 15, p. 29.

mystic. He had received his training in mysticism from Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi Chishti¹⁰. Abdul Ahad, after the death of Shaikh Abdul Quddus, presented himself before Shaikh Ruknuddin¹¹, the son and successor of Shaikh Quddus. Shaikh Ruknuddin conferred upon Shaikh Abdul Ahad the *khirqa* (a patched frock) of the *Qadiriyya* and *Chishtiah* orders¹².

Shaikh Ahmad received his early education at home, and derived the greatest inspiration from his own father. Shaikh Ahmad was initiated in the *Chishtiah* and *Qadiriyya* orders and received the *Khilafat*¹³ of both¹⁴. Shaikh Ahmad after the death of his father visited Delhi and

¹⁰ Abul Fazl gives the following account of Shaikh Abdul Quddus Gangohi: "He asserted himself to be a descendant of Abu Hanifah. He was the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad bin Shaykh Arif bin Shaykh Ahmad Abdul Haq. He acquired secular and spiritual learning and became eminent in theology. Many of his mystical sayings are recorded. The Emperor Humayun with the few of the learned, visited him in his cell and an animated controversy took place. He folded up the carpet of his life in A.H. 950 (1543 A.D.). He was buried at Gangoyah". *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarret, III, 374. Also see Badauni (Haig), III, 5. Gangoh is a town in Saharanpur district (U.P.). It consists of an old and a new quarter, the former founded by the legendary hero Raja Gang and the latter by Shaikh Abdul Quddus who gives his title to the western suburb, where his tomb still stands among other sacred shrines. Vide *Imperial Gazetteer*.

¹¹ He is No. 5 among learned men of Class I in *Ain-i-Akbari*. See Blochmann, I, 538; Badauni, text, III, 50; Haig's trans., pp. 82-83. He died in 983 A.H.

¹² *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, p. 92; *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 7, 8. Shaikh Abdul Ahad died in 1007 A.H.

¹³ *Khilafat*: In mystic terminology it is generally the recognition by a spiritual leader that the disciple has completed the mystic journey and has reached such a high stage of development that he can be authorised to guide others on the way.

¹⁴ *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 7, 8. Dr. Burhan Ahmad Faruqi while giving a brief sketch of the life of the Mujaddid says that he "received *Khilafat* from him (his father) in the *Chishtiah* and *Suhrawardiyyah* orders", which is incorrect. See *Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid*, p. 6.

joined the *Naqshbandiah* order, and soon received its *Khilafat* from Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah of Kabul¹⁵, who had introduced this order into Hindustan. Shaikh Ahmad surpassed his master in fame and sanctity and is himself the founder of a new order known as the *Mujaddidiah*, a sub-division of the *Naqshbandiah* order. It is said that Khwaja Baqi Billah was specially directed (by some heavenly message) to go to Hindustan and to initiate there a very great man, that is, Shaikh Ahmad¹⁶, and that he used to sit before the latter as a disciple¹⁷.

The Mujaddid Sarhindi started his mission of rejuvenating Islam and the establishment of a true Islamic state conforming to Islamic ideas and practices in all its activities at the age of forty. He opened a vast correspondence with the nobles and grandees of the Mughal Empire, and with those who were near to the Throne. He also tried to impress upon and influence the eminent men in all parts of the country and abroad as to the necessity of a concentrated effort of rescuing Islam from the clutches of destruction. A perusal of his *Maktubat* makes it clear that he wrote letters to all the prominent nobles of the court of Akbar and Jahangir¹⁸. He despatched to Khan Khanan, Khan-i-Azam, Khan Jahan, Sikandar Khan Lodi, Mahabat Khan, Murtaza Khan, Qilij Khan, Jabbari Khan, Sadr Jahan, Tarbiyat Khan, Islam Khan, Qasim Khan and others letters after letters explaining the sad plight of Islam, the dangers lying ahead in case of in-attention, inviting them to the fold of orthodox Islam, entreating them to shoulder the responsibility and promising them the highest religious bliss. He repeatedly impressed upon them the duty of effecting a revolution in their own circle and influencing the Emperor to make a change of heart. The Mujaddid acted upon the

¹⁵ For details about Khwaja Baqi Billah see *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, and *Hazarat-ul-Quds* (Vol. I). He died in 1012 A.H. at the age of about forty years.

¹⁶ Ibid, II, 20, 21; *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, pp. 140, 141.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 153; *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 25.

¹⁸ Specially see *Maktubat*, I, Nos. 23, 25, 43-54, 65-72, 81, 119-121, 191, 194, 195, 198, 209, 214, 228, 231, 238; II, No. 54; III, No. 54.

assumption that “*Shari‘at* is beneath the shadow of the sword” (*ash-Shar‘a taht us-Saif*)¹⁹. He sincerely believed that “the king is the soul and the rest of the people are just like the body. If the soul is pure, the body is also in a proper order. If any ills attack the soul, the body also yields to that. Thus, to reform the king is to put on the right path all the people together”²⁰. The events preceding the accession of Jahangir, the plot to overthrow him in favour of Khusrau, the leading role played in favour of Salim by Shaikh Farid Bukhari Murtaza Khan²¹,—the single individual to whom Shaikh Ahmad has written the largest number of letters—, require an explanation. It is not unlikely that a promise to defend Islam exacted from Jahangir as a price for their support to the *masnad* of Hindustan, was the result of the activities of the Mujaddid Sarhindi²². The Mujaddid was jubilant when the news of the accession of Jahangir was conveyed to him²³.

¹⁹ Ibid, I, No. 65, p. 82.

²⁰ Ibid, II, No. 57, p. 135. The popular maxim of the medieval times was “Like king like subjects” (*An-naso ala din-i-muluk-ehim*). To put in other words it means that the subjects are the imitation or manifestation of their king. See Ibid, I, No. 195, p. 194.

²¹ Shaikh Farid had early distinguished himself in warfare against the Afghans in Orissa and had been promoted to 1,500 during the reign of Akbar. He was also appointed Mir Bakhshi, and had also for some time the *Daftar-i-Tan* in his charge. On Jahangir's accession he was elevated to the office of Mir Bakhshi and to the title of “*Sahib-us-saif wal-qalam*” (Lord of the pen and the sword). Shaikh Farid received the lofty title of Murtaza Khan as a reward for services rendered during the revolt of Khusrau. His rank was increased to 6,000 during the eighth year of Jahangir's reign. For details see Elliot and Dowson, VI, 129, 135, 182; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann, I, 413-416; *Tuzuk*, I, 13, 20, 69, 239; *Iqbalnama*, text, pp. 54, 55; Khafi Khan, I, 248; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, s.v.

²² Father Du Jarric says: “Accordingly, the leading noble (Shaikh Farid), having been sent by the others as their representative, came to the Prince (Salim) and promised, in all their names, to place the kingdom in his hands provided that he would swear to defend the law of Mahomet, . . .” *Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 204.

²³ Letter to Shaikh Farid Bukhari, *Maktubat*, I, No. 47.

The orthodox heaved a sigh of relief at the death of Akbar. But it was not all! The Mujaddid aimed at an outright conversion of Jahangir to the orthodox Islamic policy in the state as the most effective weapon to safeguard Muslim interests. The movement was carried on still more vigorously. The Mujaddid wrote to Lala Beg²⁴: "If from the very start of the reign (of Jahangir) Islam gets a footing and the Muslims establish their prestige well and good. But if the matter is delayed the task (of restoring Islam and the honour of the Musalmans) will become very difficult for the Muslims"²⁵. After giving blessings to Sadr Jahan²⁶ and expressing his sorrows on the religious breakdown during the reign of Akbar the Mujaddid proceeds: "Now when there has been a change in the Empire (i.e. the age of Akbar has ended) and the opposition (of Islam) by other religions has been disrupted, it is obligatory on the part of great men of Islam, Ulema and ministers to devote themselves with full energy and attention to promote the laws of the *Shari'at*. In the first

²⁴ Jahangir Quli Khan known as Lala Beg was the son of Nizam, Humayun's Librarian. He entered the service of Akbar who placed him among the attendants of Prince Salim. He was given the title of Baz Bahadur when Jahangir was a Prince. When Salim revolted against his father and reached Allahabad he sent Lala Beg to administer Jaunpur. At the time of his accession Jahangir generously favoured Lala Beg and he was raised to 4,000 and to the governorship of Bihar. See *Iqbalnama*, text, pp. 33, 34; *Tuzuk*, I, 21, 142, 208; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, I, 512-514.

²⁵ *Maktubat*, I, No. 81, p. 106.

²⁶ Jahangir speaks thus in his Memoirs: "I raised Miran Sadr Jahan from the rank of 2,000 to that of 4,000. I knew him in my childhood when I read the "Forty Sayings" with Shaikh Abdunnabi. From those early days till now Miran Sadr Jahan has acted towards me with single-minded loyalty, and I regard him as my preceptor in religious matters (*khalifa*). Whilst I was prince and before my revered father's illness, and during that time, when the ministers (pillars of the State) and the high nobles had become agitated, and each had conceived some idea of gain for himself and wished to become the originator of some act which could only bring ruin on the State, he had not failed in the activity of his service and the devotedness". *Tuzuk*, I, 22, 23. Later on he was raised to 5,000 personal and 1,500 horse. *Ibid*, p. 140.

opportunity the tenets of Islam which had been over-ruled should be established because in delay there is no safety"²⁷. In a letter to Khan Jahan²⁸ he writes: "When the Emperor listens to your words and gives weight to your opinion, you should avail this excellent opportunity. (At the proper time) the message of Islam according to the beliefs of the *Ahl-i-Sunnat wa Jama'at* should be conveyed to him directly or indirectly. When you get time explain the tenets of Islam. You should always watch for suitable occasions when discussions turn round religious matters, to plead the sanctity of Islam, and to condemn other religions"²⁹. Upon Shaikh Farid Bukhari he stresses: "Now when the Emperor has got no sympathy with *Kafirs*, the prevalence of heretical rites, which were introduced in the past, is very loathsome for the Muslims. It is the duty of every Muslim that the Emperor should be informed about the evils of the rites of the unbelievers and they should make efforts to remove them because it is just possible that the Emperor may not know the evils of unbelieving innovations. If you think it opportune, inform some of the Ulema of Islam so that they may come and explain the evils of the unbelievers"³⁰. Another useful method adopted by the Mujaddid was to train and prepare a number of his disciples as agents (*khalifas*) for the work of reform and proselytism. He deputed them to different parts of the country and even beyond Hindustan to preach and propagate the cause of true Islam, and to induce men to follow the example of the Holy Prophet.

²⁷ *Maktubat*, I, No. 195, p. 195.

²⁸ Khan Jahan originally known as Pir Khan, son of Daulat Khan Lodi, was a famous warrior of Akbar's reign. He served successfully under Raja Man Singh, Prince Daniyal, and Prince Salim. In the second year of Jahangir's reign he was given the rank of 3,000 personal and 1,500 horse, the title of Salabat Khan, and the distinction of sonship (*farzandi*). He enjoyed the highest royal favour and wielded a very great influence at the Court. In 1608 he was given the title of Khan Jahan and raised to the rank of 5,000 personal and horse. In the 12th year of Jahangir's reign his rank was raised to 6,000 personal and horse. *Tuzuk*, I, 87, 89, 128, 129, 139, 161, 296, 299, 372.

²⁹ *Maktubat*, II, No. 67, p. 135.

³⁰ *Ibid*, I, No. 193, p. 194.

In other words, the mission of Islam was carried on in its true spirit, and the systematic work of *tabligh* started for the first time in the history of Islam in India. The Mujaddid deputed Shaikh Badiuddin Saharanpuri to the capital-city of Agra to work for the cause of Orthodox Islam among the Imperialists³¹. The Mujaddid himself paid occasional visits to Agra on the invitation of Shaikh Farid Bukhari and Miran Sadr Jahan³².

The influence of the activities of the Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani was felt in every corner of Hindustan. Jahangir also came to know about him and summoned him to his court. From his account of Shaikh Sarhindi in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* it appears that the Shaikh was very adversely reported to him³³. But it should be noted that Jahangir was not the first or only person who thought ill of Shaikh Ahmad. Even eminent theologians like Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi expressed doubts about the ideas of the Mujaddid³⁴. In fact a general suspicion was entertained against the Mujaddid of the Millennium. The Mujaddid himself knew about it and repeatedly tried to remove the misunderstanding³⁵. The most disputed letter of the Mujaddid—which has been also referred to by Jahangir in the *Tuzuk*,—was that in which the Mujaddid is alleged to have claimed equality with Abu Bakr, the first Khalif of Islam and that he regarded himself greater than the latter³⁶. The letters of the Mujaddid are full of mystic terminology connected with the training of the inner self (*batin*) and it is not possible for a lay man untrained in Islamic

³¹ *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, pp. 346-354; *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 303-310.

³² *Maktubat*, I, Nos. 45, 47, 194.

³³ *Tuzuk*, II, 91-93.

³⁴ See *Infra*.

³⁵ See *Maktubat*, I, No. 192. The Mujaddid once said in reply to this particular charge: "When I do not give preference over the other Khalifas to Hazrat Ali, who was an embodiment of good qualities, how could I regard myself greater than themselves. *M'arifat* (a knowledge of God) is forbidden for a man who regards himself better than a *Firingi* what to speak about the great ones of the religion (of Islam)". *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 62.

³⁶ Letter to Khwaja Baqi Billah, the spiritual guide of the Mujaddid. See *Maktubat*, I, No. 11.

mysticism to appreciate and understand them. What he really meant to say was this that he had the honour to view the greatness of the place of Abu Bakr and not that he claimed equality with him or thought himself to be greater than him³⁷. Dara Shukoh in his *Safinat-ul-Auliya* speaks very favourably about Shaikh Ahmad. Dara also refers to this charge against the Mujaddid but he further records that Shaikh Mirak, who had been Prince Khurram's tutor, once went to Sarhind and questioned Shaikh Ahmad. Shaikh Ahmad denied the charge and produced the letter in question. Shaikh Mirak returned quite satisfied on that score³⁸.

In an interview with Jahangir when the Mujaddid Sarhindi was questioned about the above-mentioned allegation he replied in the negative and to elucidate his answer further he cited an example: "If your Majesty summon an ordinary person to serve you and as an honour you speak to him the secrets, surely that person will reach you after crossing the ranks of *panj-hazari* Umara. Afterwards he will return back to his place. This does not mean that the man will become higher in rank than the *panj-hazari* Umara"³⁹. But Jahangir was not satisfied with his answers as he says, and the Shaikh was handed over to Anirai Singh Dalan to be imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior⁴⁰. Shaikh Ahmad's biographer, Shaikh Badruddin Sarhindi, says that Jahangir's ears were already poisoned by Shia backbiters and mischief-makers. When the Mujaddid met all the charges squarely before Jahangir, they induced the latter to order Shaikh Ahmad to perform the ceremonial *Sijdah*. Shaikh Ahmad refused to do it. This neglect of court etiquette fanned the wrath of the Emperor⁴¹. The author of *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah*, a comparatively later authority, gives more explicit reasons for the

³⁷ For a full refutation of charges against the Mujaddid see *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 87-116; *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, pp. 249-251.

³⁸ *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, text, pp. 197, 198. Also compare *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 156, 157.

³⁹ *Idid*, pp. 89, 90.

⁴⁰ *Tuzuk*, II, 93.

⁴¹ *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 90, 158, 165, 176.

imprisonment of Shaikh Ahmad. According to him the Persian-ridden court of Jahangir entertained an enmity towards Shaikh Ahmad for his anti-Shia activities. The Prime Minister Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan and a Shia, warned Jahangir against the rising tides of the orthodox movement which might result in the overthrow of the Empire. The Wazir advised that the visits of the soldiers to the disciples of the Shaikh should be stopped and that he should be imprisoned if not executed. The allegations against the Mujaddid failed when he visited the Court. Asaf Khan then pressed the Emperor to demand the *Sijdah* from the Shaikh as a proof of his loyalty and the consequent refusal of the Mujaddid and his imprisonment⁴². It is true that Shaikh Ahmad bitterly condemned Shi-ism and regarded Shias worse than idolators⁴³. It will not be presuming too much if some allowance is made for this fact.

The Mujaddid passed his days in prison with complete forbearance as is evident from his own letters written from there⁴⁴. His supporters tried to prevail upon the Emperor to get the Shaikh released but in vain⁴⁵. This further shows that more than one parties were interested in Mujaddid's confinement and release. However, after about a year⁴⁶ he was set free and was given a robe of honour and Rs. 1,000 for expenses. It was left to his choice either to go or to stay with the royal camp⁴⁷. The Mujaddid decided to stay on. It is gathered from Mujaddid's letters that he always longed for the opportunity to come in direct touch with the Emperor and exhorted those who had this privilege to avail themselves of it and bring the Emperor over to the view-point of the Orthodox Islam. The Mujaddid was frequently admitted into the

⁴² *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah*, Part I, pp. 170-186.

⁴³ See *Infra*.

⁴⁴ See *Maktubat*, III, Nos. 2, 5, 6, 13, 83.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, No. 15.

⁴⁶ The Mujaddid was imprisoned in the 14th year of Jahangir's reign and was liberated in the 15th year.

⁴⁷ *Tuzuk*, II, 161; *Iqbalnama*, text, p. 273.

Royal presence and he made full use of the opportunity offered to him. In a letter to his sons, Khwaja Muhammad S'aid and Khwaja Muhammad Masum, he writes: "These days the circumstances are favourable. Extraordinary meetings are taking place. By the grace of God I have not evinced any slackness or softness in explaining the religious matters and Islamic principles. What was preached in special companies and privacy, is also stressed here, in these important discussions. If I write the full account of even one of these meetings, it will require a book. Specially this night...the king gave a patient hearing...and praise be to God that he was uniform in his mood and expressed no sign of resentment or dislike"⁴⁸. According to *Ẓabdat-ul-Maqamat* the Mujaddid moved with the royal camp for about three years⁴⁹. Jahangir honoured the Mujaddid by paying him Rs. 2,000 in the 18th year of his reign⁵⁰. The author of *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah* goes to the extent of declaring that henceforth the Shaikh, for the rest of his life, became the special adviser of the Emperor⁵¹. But this much is certain that Jahangir did receive the benefit of the advice of the Mujaddid Sarhindi on religious matters as is evident from a letter written to the former by the latter⁵². Occasional outbursts of bigotry on the part of Jahangir and anti-Hindu sentiments and policy may ultimately be traced to the influence of the Mujaddid on the fickle-minded Emperor.

The Mujaddid Sarhindi closed his eyes on the morning of Tuesday, the 28th Safar, 1034 A.H. (1624 A.D.) at the age of sixty-three (being the age of the Prophet also). His last words to his sons and disciples were "Hold *Shari'at* tight with your teeth"⁵³. He lies buried at Sarhind which

⁴⁸ *Maktubat*, III, No. 43, p. 76.

⁴⁹ *Ẓabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, p. 159. The author accompanied the Shaikh on one of his journeys. Also see *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 79, 80; *Maktubat*, III, No. 83.

⁵⁰ *Tuzuk*, II, 276.

⁵¹ *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah*, Part, I, pp. 199-209.

⁵² *Maktubat*, III, No. 47.

⁵³ For a graphic account of the death of the Mujaddid see *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 177-181; *Ẓabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, pp. 282-300.

attracts thousands of Muslims from all over the world on the occasion of his *'urs* (anniversary).

Section 3. Contemporaries of the Mujaddid.

During the lifetime of his father Shaikh Ahmad visited Agra more than once. The Agra of the days of Akbar was humming with religious activities and the learned of the age formed a galaxy round the throne. Here he came into contact with Abul Fazl and Faizi, the twin pillars of Akbar's court against orthodox Islam. Abul Fazl, it is said, was impressed by the attainments of Shaikh Ahmad and had a deep regard for him. One day, says Mulla Muhammad Hashim Kishmi of Burhanpur, Shaikh Ahmad was present in Abul Fazl's assembly. Abul Fazl praised the philosophers in such hyperbolic terms that it implied an indirect attack on the Ulema of Islam. Shaikh Ahmad could not tolerate this. He submitted that Imam Ghazzali in one of his discourses has shown that the useful sciences like Astrology, Medicine etc. of which the philosophers claim to be the masters, have all in fact been appropriated by them from the sayings and writings of the prophets of the past, and the sciences which are their own creation like Mathematics etc. are of little practical value. On hearing this Abul Fazl got agitated and exclaimed "Ghazzali has uttered nonsense". Shaikh Ahmad felt offended at this remark and left the assembly saying: "If you have an aptitude for the company of the learned restrain your tongue from uttering such discourteous words". Shaikh Ahmad did not go to Abul Fazl's place until he himself sent for him and expressed his regrets⁵⁴. Shaikh Ahmad also paid his visits to Shaikh Faizi and it is said that he helped the latter in writing his *Sawat'i-ul-Ilham*, the undotted commentary of the Quran⁵⁵.

The name of Shaikh Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlavi deserves special mention as by far the most important personage among the contem-

⁵⁴ *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, pp. 131, 132.

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 132; *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 10, 11.

poraries of the Shaikh Sarhindi⁵⁶. He was a fellow-disciple of the Mujaddid and was initiated in the *Naqshbandiah* order by Khwaja Muhaimmad Baqi Billah. He was a prominent and sincere member of the spiritual circle of the Khwaja. He has written a discourse (*Risala*) on the *Naqshbandiah* order holding it to be the best order for attaining the highest spiritual elevation. It is significant that the disciples of these two spiritual leaders, themselves fellow *murids* of the same *Pir*, were sharply divided into hostile camps. It was all the more unfortunate for the tottering structure of Indian Islam that a regular opposition was offered to the man who had shouldered the responsibilities of restoring Islam to its original spirit. Shaikh Abdul Haq wrote another discourse in refutation of the *Maktubat* of the Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani. But the nature of the duel between Shaikh Ahmad and Abdul Haq was purely religious in character concerning some of the fundamentals of Islam itself. It was neither personal nor was there any motive of running down one's own rival. Shaikh Abdul Khaliq, the author of *Tazkira-i-Adamia*, says: "One day I (Shaikh Abdul Khaliq) paid a visit to Shaikh Abdul Haq. The conversation turned round the spiritual greatness (*karamat*) of Shaikh Ahmad. Shaikh Abdul Haq declined to give any credit to the Mujaddid. I retorted that to foster a feeling of unfriendliness towards the pillars of the religion is not desirable; the Quran should be made the judge between ourselves. We should perform ablution and open the Holy Book. Any verse which comes on the first page (after opening it) shall be treated as the *fal* of Shaikh Ahmad". He further goes on that the *fal* was in favour of Shaikh Ahmad and Shaikh Abdul Haq no more

⁵⁶ Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi is well known to the students of history through his *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*. He was a prolific writer and an eminent theologian of his age. Jahangir in his memoirs speaks very highly of him. He attained the age of 100 years and is buried in Delhi near the tomb of Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki of Ush. See *Tarikh-i-Hakki*, Elliot and Dowson, VI, 175-178, 366, 483-492; *Tuzuk*, II, 111; *Badshahnama*, I, Part, II, pp. 341, 342; Khafi Khan, I, 240, 551; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans., II, 692.

went against him⁵⁷. Shaikh Nurul Haq⁵⁸ added an appendix on the life of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi which was omitted by his father, Shaikh Abdul Haq, in his biographical work *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*⁵⁹. Shaikh Nurul Haq adds that his father in his later years repented of the opinion which he had held about the Mujaddid. He further quotes a letter of Shaikh Abdul Haq written to Khwaja Hisamuddin stating that he bore no ill-will against Shaikh Ahmad and that he felt attracted towards him⁶⁰. It is true that afterwards they were reconciled and remained on friendly terms for the rest of their lives. During his imprisonment in the fort of Gwalior Shaikh Ahmad wrote a letter to Shaikh Abdul Haq expressing his gratitude for the sympathy and encouragement conveyed to him by the latter⁶¹.

Section 4. Teachings of the Mujaddid.

The place of Shaikh Ahmad as the Mujaddid of Islam cannot be

⁵⁷ Compare *Khazinat-ul-Asfia*, I, 615; *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 142.

⁵⁸ Shaikh Nurul Haq Dehlavi is the author of *Zabdat-ut-Tawarikh*, which is an enlarged edition of his father's history, *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, and was composed, as the author informs us, in order that, by improving the style, and supplying omissions, he might render it worthy the acceptance of his patron, Shaikh Farid Bukhari Murtaza Khan, with whom he was connected by marriage, and who suggested the undertaking. See *Zabdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Elliot and Dowson, VI, 132; Khafi Khan, I, 551. The Mujaddid has written a very long letter to Shaikh Nurul Haq in answer to some of his queries. See *Maktubat*, III, No. 100.

⁵⁹ The book was presented to Jahangir in the 14th year of his reign. See *Tuzuk* II, 111.

⁶⁰ *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*, Mujtabai Press, Delhi, pp. 313 ff. Also compare *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah*, Part I, pp. 211, 212 for the letter of Shaikh Abdul Haq.

⁶¹ *Maktubat*, II, No. 29. Also see *Ibid*, I, No. 115 which is addressed to Shaikh Abdul Haq. Dr. Md. Enamul Haq in an article, 'The Sufi Movement in India', *Indian Culture*, 1935-1936, Vol. II, 17-22, holds that the mission of Shaikh Ahmad was carried on by Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi (d. 1641 A. D.). The statement is misleading. The Mujaddid was succeeded by his third son, Khwaja Muhammad Masum. See *Infra*.

properly appreciated unless we take into account the religious side of his activities. Like an expert physician he tried to probe deep into the root of the evils which had eclipsed the majesty of Orthodox Islam, and he wanted by all means to effect a cure of the body politic of Islam of his age.

According to the Mujaddid the main channel of mischief were the *Ulema-i-su* or the worldly-minded divines, who had exclusively taken to *Fiqh* or jurisprudence as the whole of religious learning. The Mujaddid holds that "every slackness and irregularity that has taken place in the matters of Shari'at in this age, and every obstruction which has hindered the growth and expansion of Islam, is due to the wickedness of the *Ulema-i-su*; and the result of their incompetence"⁶². In his opinion the Ulema quoted the Quran and the *Hadis*, to use an impious phrase, as the Devil might quote the Scripture. No doubt what they said they pretended to prove on the basis of these authorities; but the trouble arose on account of their wishful interpretation. The Ulema played a learned jugglery with the language of the Quran and the *Hadis* to suit the situation and the requirements of their masters. The Ulema gave a new name to the innovation introduced into Islam, namely, *Bid'at-i-hasna*, that is, though it was an innovation but not sinful. Under this pretence every distorted version of the Quran and the Shari'at or any purposeful interpretation was regarded agreeable and hence admissible. The Mujaddid waged a regular war against this evil, and his *Maktubat* are full of references to it. In one of his letters to Khwaja Mufti Abdur Rahman Kabuli he argues as follows: "They say that *bid'at* (innovations) are of two kinds: good, and bad. . . . This humble Faqir does not find anything good or heavenly in either of these two; and does not feel anything except darkness and filth. The Prophet says, 'Anything new which is introduced in my religion, is condemnable'. When a thing is already reprobated how could it be of any weight? The Prophet has warned us to be at our guard against innovations, because every new

⁶² *Maktubat*, I, No. 33, p. 47. Also see *Ibid*, I, No. 47.

introduction (in Islam) is *bid'at*, and every *bid'at* is a misguidance. Hence, what is the meaning of excellence in an innovation?"⁶³. The Mujaddid condemned the activities of the unscrupulous *Mullahs* vehemently. He warned the religious divines of Islam against the dangers of the growth of this un-Islamic tendency and the evils of so-called rational interpretation. He exhorted them to interpret the Quran and the *Hadis* as it had been interpreted and understood by the religious heads of the past and in the light of the precedent set by their own actions⁶⁴. When Jahangir ordered Shaikh Farid Bukhari that four pious and learned *Mullahs* should be appointed who should advise him on religious matters, Shaikh Ahmad was over-joyed at the news. But he at once realised the hidden danger. The quarrels and non-agreement of the *Ulema* on certain points of law had been responsible for Akbar's scanty regard for the Shari'at. The Mujaddid apprehended that history might repeat itself to the discomfiture of Islam. He, therefore, wrote to Shaikh Farid that instead of *four* only *one* competent person should be appointed otherwise what had been achieved upto now would be lost⁶⁵.

Tasawwaf (mystic experience, or the direct knowledge of God) had taken complete possession of the hearts of the Muslim community. Contrary to the Monotheistic, Personal, Transcendent God of Islam, a Pantheistic conception of Deity had been substituted. Hence, most of the liberal Sufis declared that *Tariqat* is something different from Shari'at; *Tariqat* was the substance and Shari'at only its shadow. Consequently non-conformity with the Shari'at, or the path adopted by the Prophet to attain the direct experience of God, did not disqualify them from spiritual communion. Therefore, according to the Mujaddid, the Sufis under the cloak of *Tasawwaf*, had misled people from the path of Shari'at. They regarded themselves almost unfettered by any religious injunctions. Shaikh Ahmad was the first and the greatest among the

⁶³ Ibid, I, No. 186.

⁶⁴ See *Maktubat*, I, Nos. 158, 186, 193, 261, 286; II, No. 23.

⁶⁵ Ibid, I, No. 53, p. 71.

mystics of Islam who expressly and strenuously opposed the Pantheistic conception of *Tawhid* known as *Wahdat-i-Wujud* or *Tawhid-i-Wujud* (Unity of Being). The Mujaddid stressed that man cannot know God through intuition or mystic experience (*kashf-wa-shuhud*); one should revert to the Revelation and to the teachings of the *Ulema-i-Zahir*, or theologians of official Islam; because, the Ulema derive the knowledge of God direct from the Revelation. The conception of *Tawhid* as advanced by the Mujaddid is as follows: "The Holy existence of God is self-existent. Every other things are His own creation. God is alone in His '*zat*' (existence) and '*sifat*' (attributes), and actually there is no participant in any of these; it may be *Wujudi* or *non-Wujudi* (existent or non-existent), neither in name nor in resemblance"⁶⁶. Consequently the Mujaddid discusses '*zat*' and '*sifat*' or the Being and attributes of God on the lines of theologians of official Islam. The Mujaddid Sarhindi veritably gave a fresh line of approach to Islamic mysticism and tried to bring it back to its supposed original fold⁶⁷.

The Shias had become a permanent and prominent fixture in the Muslim society of India. The Persian influence was fast spreading in Hindustan during the ascendancy of Nur Jahan, a Persian lady. The Mujaddid regarded Shi-ism as the worst form of heresy and condemned its followers bitterly. He devoted his full energy to checkmate the expansion of Shia doctrines. He induced Muslims to forget the quarrels among the companions of the Prophet which had accounted for schism in Islam. The Mujaddid wrote a pamphlet "*Radd-i-Rawafiz*" or "Refutation of Shiaism", which received a wide circulation both in India and abroad. He has also discussed these problems in his own *Maktubat* in great detail. The Mujaddid even participated in open discussions with Shia divines and tried to prove the unsoundness of their doctrines⁶⁸.

The Mujaddid preached dynamic hatred against non-Sunnis in

⁶⁶ Ibid, I, No. 266, p. 311.

⁶⁷ See Ibid, I, Nos. 30, 31, 39, 95, 221, 272, 291, 294; II, Nos. I, 31, 44; III, No. 89.

⁶⁸ Compare Ibid, I, Nos. 120, 266; II, Nos. 15, 27, 36, 67, 96.

general and against non-Muslims in particular. He had no sympathy for anyone outside the fold of Orthodox Islam and regarded toleration as a tacit compliment⁶⁹. As a pious Sunni the Shaikh Sarhindi believed that strict compliance with the Shari'at was the only staircase leading to Heaven⁷⁰. According to him the *Naqshbandi* order was the right form of Sufi order which is in conformity with the Shari'at⁷¹. To him the love of the world and the attainment of ultimate bliss (*nijat*) were two contradictory things. Hence, in order to attain salvation worldly attachments were to be renounced⁷².

Section 5. An Estimate.

The mission of the Mujaddid Sarhindi, which filled a large space in the religious and political history of the Muslim community of the seventeenth century, was undoubtedly a success. He succeeded in undoing the work of Akbar, and winning over his successors to his own views of Orthodox Islam. No doubt time was needed for a Jahangir to become an Aurangzib by one somersault. The growing orthodoxy of Jahangir is an interesting phenomenon for study. The son and successor of Akbar regards the slaughter of a bullock as a gain to Islam!⁷³. The Shaikh Sarhindi is the father of the Religio-Political Reform Movement of Orthodox Islam in India. He should certainly get credit for effecting a change of outlook of the Muslim Nobility and upper classes in general. Infiltration from the upper strata, and change of heart and policy of Akbar's successors towards non-Sunnis and non-Muslims affected the lower strata of common man. But all the same he left to posterity the legacy of communal hatred and religious bitterness and fanaticism.

⁶⁹ Ibid, I, Nos. 54, 80, 163, 165, 193.

⁷⁰ Ibid, I, Nos. 36, 40, 44, 59, 78.

⁷¹ Ibid, I, Nos. 21, 27, 37, 58, 66, 90, 131, 221, 237, 243; II, No. 23.

⁷² Ibid, I, Nos. 72, 73, 116, 138, 189, 197, 206, 215, 232.

⁷³ See *Tuzuk*, II, 223. For the growing orthodoxy of Jahangir see Ibid, I, 171; II, 101, 102, 136, 181, 223, 224, 234.

Communal riots of Shias and Sunnis, and later on Hindu-Muslim riots became frequent with the tightening grip of reaction and intolerance preached by the Mujaddid.

In the field of mysticism due allowance should be made for his efforts and early successes. There was nothing wrong in the conception of *Tawhid* as advanced by the Mujaddid. It was the time-honoured Islamic conception of One God. But he committed a blunder in retaining the old sufistic terminology, and in continuing the system of spiritual guidance and discipleship. This again degenerated into mental serfdom of the disciple (*murid*) to the *pirs* (spiritual guides) who misled people. However, Sufism slipped back to its Pantheistic Indian groove. The disease proved incurable, and the clarion call of the Mujaddid "Away from Plotinus and his host and back to Muhammad" whipped up the Sufi zeal without going back to Muhammad.

CHAPTER X

MUJADDID'S MISSION GOES ON

Section 1. Orthodox Restoration and Revival under Shahjahan.

The work of rejuvenating Islam in India started by the Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi was continued by his sons and khalifas after his death. His khalifas belonged to different parts of the country. They also enrolled disciples and created their own khalifas in turn. We have been given a very long list of the khalifas of *Mujaddidiyah* and *Naqshbandiah* orders. But the emergence of Shahjahan as the Emperor of Hindustan proved a windfall to the Orthodox Islam in India. The orthodox welcomed the new Emperor with open arms¹. Shahjahan belonged to the circle of Mujaddid's admirers. When Jahangir summoned the Mujaddid Sarhindi to his court Shahjahan apprehended that some trouble might befall the Mujaddid on account of his non-observance of the court etiquette which was usual with the staunch upholders of the laws of Islam. He, therefore, sent Afzal Khan and Khwaja Abdur Rahman Mufti with some books on *Fiqh* requesting Shaikh Ahmad to perform *Sijdah* before the Emperor as prostration before kings is permissible under Muslim

¹ *ibid.*

Zabdat-ul-Maqamat, text, pp. 281, 282; *Badshahnama*, text, I, 95.

law. But the Mujaddid rejected the suggestion as he would not prostrate himself before anyone except God².

With the accession of Shahjahan the prospects of the Orthodox Reform Movement in Indian Islam brightened. Shahjahan is regarded the *Mujaddid* of his Age³ and without doubt his whole life is an illustration of the fact in question. Shahjahan exerted his utmost to purify Islam and bring it in accord with the Shari'at though he was prudent enough not to risk his throne for the sake of a Muslim's conscience. The tone of administration changed and the Liberalism of the days of Akbar was definitely on the wane. Shahjahan stands midway between Jahangir and Aurangzib and the orthodox would not sit at rest unless they found an exact counterpart of theirs on the Peacock Throne⁴.

Section 2. Activities of Khwaja Muhammad Masum.

Khwaja Muhammad Masum (1007-1079 A.H.)⁵ was the third son of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi and by far the most promising and sensible of all the brothers⁶. From early childhood he showed signs of greatness. Shaikh Ahmad declared Khwaja Muhammad Masum his successor about a year before his death in A.H. 1032⁷. Khwaja Masum continued

² *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 90; *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah*, Part I, pp. 179, 180.

³ *Amal-i-Saleh*, text, I, 2, 3.

⁴ For the religious policy of Shahjahan compare Sri Ram Sharma, *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, ch. on Shahjahan.

⁵ Khwaja Muhammad Masum is styled as '*Urut-ul-Wusqa* meaning literally "strong" or "Tight hold". The significance of the term is that he was the pivot of the faith of the believers. According to *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah* Khwaja Masum was honoured with this lofty title in the second year of his mission through some heavenly message. Part II, pp. 15, 16.

⁶ Shaikh Ahmad had seven sons and three daughters. For details about the offsprings of the Mujaddid see *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, text, pp. 300-326; *Hazarat-ul-Quds*, II, 188 ff.

⁷ *Ibid*, II, 235, 236; *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah*, Part II, pp. 6, 7.

the policy of his father and maintained regular correspondence with men of eminence both in the state and society⁸. He wrote letters even to rulers outside India⁹.

Aurangzib came into contact with Khwaja Muhammad Masum during the period of his Princehood. According to *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah* the Prince became a disciple of the Khwaja¹⁰. On the eve of his Qandahar expedition Aurangzib wrote to Khwaja Masum to pray for his success. Khwaja Masum wrote him back that the undertaking was auspicious,—a holy war in the path of Allah against the Shia heretics! He further explained to him the merits and significance of *Jihad-i-Asghar* and *Jihad-i-Akbar*¹¹.

After his accession Aurangzib expressed a wish to Khwaja Muhammad Masum to undergo the mystical initiation according to the Islamic practices called *suluk*, that is, to pass through a mystic journey. Perhaps the Khwaja could not comply with the request of Aurangzib personally due to his old age and ill-health. He, therefore, sent his own son, Khwaja Muhammad Saifuddin (1049-1096 A.H.), for Aurangzib's spiritual illumination¹². Aurangzib sent a letter to Khwaja

⁸ Specially see *Maktubat-i-Masumia*, Kanpur edition, Nos. 33, 50, 164, 171, 176, 207, 224.

⁹ Ibid, Amritsar edition, Nos. 139, 145 addressed to the ruler of Balkh.

¹⁰ *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah*, Part II, 38, 39.

¹¹ *Maktubat-i-Masumia*, Kanpur edition, No. 64, pp. 113-117; *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah*, Part II, pp. 42, 43. *Jihad*. Lit. "An effort, or a striving". A religious war with those who are unbelievers in the mission of the Prophet. It is an incumbent religious duty, established in the Quran and in the Traditions as a divine institution, and enjoined specially for the purpose of repelling evil from Muslims. Sufi writers say that there are two *Jihads*: *Jihad-i-Akbar*, or "the greater warfare", which is against one's own lust; and *Jihad-i-Asghar*, or "lesser warfare", against infidels. See Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 243.

¹² Khwaja Saifuddin was the fifth son of Khwaja Muhammad Masum. For Shaikh Saifuddin's reception at the Mughal court and the details of his stay there see *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah*, Part II, pp. 140-142.

Masum acknowledging his gratitude for this favour and the Khwaja wrote to him: "All praise to God! That the son of this humble Faqir has been accepted in company (by you) and it has resulted in some good. To guide on the right path and to prevent from wrong actions is our business. You have expressed your thanks and good wishes for this. I offered my thanks to God; and I shall pray for you to God even more (in future). What a blessing! that with so much kingly splendour and royal grandeur you have accepted the truth (Sufi-istic *haqiqat*) and the words of a wretched person (as I am) have produced some effect"¹³.

Khwaja Saifuddin regularly informed his father about the spiritual advancement made by Aurangzib. According to his impressions the Emperor made marked progress day by day. In reply to one of the letters of Khwaja Saifuddin, Khwaja Masum sends the following instructions: "All that you have written about the King, the Protector of the Faith, should be carried to the full (i.e. the Emperor should be fully instructed in the orthodox Islamic principles). In the rank of the kings the presence of this tendency—(i.e. a leaning towards the right teachings of Islam and a desire to conform to it)—is one of the wonders of the world"¹⁴. At another place Khwaja Saifuddin writes to Khwaja Masum about the rapid advance made by Aurangzib in purifying his soul, Khwaja Masum writes back: "You have written that due to the favour of Allah there is daily progress in spiritual knowledge and the

According to this authority Khwaja Saifuddin passed the rest of his life at the court of Aurangzib. Shaikh Saifuddin acted as one of the witnesses at the marriage of 'Azam in the 11th year of Aurangzib's reign (1669 A.D.). *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, Sarkar, p. 49. In the account of the 12th year of the reign of Aurangzib it is stated: "On Thursday, the 3rd June, 1669 (13th Muharram), after one *prahar* of the night, the Emperor by way of the garden of Hayat-Bakhsh, visited the porter's lodge which was assigned for the residence of the saint Shaikh Saifuddin Sarhindi. After an hour spent in talking with the saint and honouring him, he returned to the palace". Ibid, p. 53.

¹³ *Maktubat-i-Masumia*, Amritsar edition, No. 221, p. 268.

¹⁴ Ibid, No. 242, p. 287.

purification of the soul (of Aurangzib). Why should it be not so when the most beloved of God (i.e. Aurangzib) is the head of the religion and of the world? (And we are trying) to impart unto him the full spiritual knowledge"¹⁵. Khwaja Masum was fully conscious about his responsibilities in bringing Aurangzib in complete accord with the *Shari'at* and a complete transformation of his heart in favour of Orthodox Islam. In one of his letters to Khwaja Saifuddin he states: "This Darvesh, according to the customs of the Faqirs, is not free from attention and prayers (for the success of Saifuddin in his mission). He desires to see the purification of the soul (of Aurangzib) and (the outward conformity) of his actions (to the laws of Islam). He finds (Aurangzib's) heart full (with religious fervour) as compared with many great religious men (of the age). He hopes that in your contact he (Aurangzib) will attain spiritual communion with God, which is the highest place regarding the nearness to God. It appears easy for him (i. e. for Aurangzib to attain that goal)"¹⁶. Besides these Aurangzib maintained a regular correspondence with Khwaja Masum. He consulted him on important points of Muslim theology and sought his advice¹⁷. Aurangzib occasionally honoured Khwaja Muhammad Masum and Khwaja Muhammad S'aid, the second son of the Mujaddid Sarhindi, with *khil'at* and presents¹⁸. Khwaja Masum was quite satisfied with the policy of Aurangzib and gives expression to his feelings in a letter addressed to the Emperor himself: "(This humble Faqir) offers his respects and expresses his gratitude for the glory of Islam and the stability of the Islamic principles (which has resulted due to the policy of Aurangzib). He always prays to God for long life, prosperity and an all-round success (for Aurangzib), as he (Khwaja Masum) has had a deep attachment and close association with him for a long time past. He spends his time with a group of Faqirs in the remote corners of humility and abstinence. And so this blessing is from the depth of his

¹⁵ Ibid, No. 232, p. 279.

¹⁶ Ibid, No. 220, p. 266.

¹⁷ Compare Ibid, Nos. 122, 127 letters written to Aurangzib.

¹⁸ *Alamgirnama*, text, pp. 293, 595.

heart and he hopes that by God's grace his prayers will be accepted. And that the Sun of (Aurangzib's) rule and glory shall always be shining on the horizon of greatness!"¹⁹

Section 3. Aurangzib as a Reformer.

It is in the sphere of the Orthodox Reform Movement in Indian Islam that Aurangzib's role as reformer of Islam can fully be visualised. The Puritan in Aurangzib was not a sudden outburst or an accident but the logical consequence of the long cultivated reactionary tendencies. It will not be an exaggeration to say that Aurangzib's state policy was prompted by the voice of Sarhindi from behind the scene. His dictates and orders were approved and counter-signed by the religious heads of the Sunni sect. All his moral reforms and puritanic regulations were inspired by the sole desire of bringing the state and the life of the Muslim community in strictest accord with the Shari'at.

Aurangzib died satisfied that he devoted his whole life to the cause of true Islam²⁰. But history bears witness to the fact that Aurangzib failed to give a concrete shape to the Islamic ideals. In spite of his untiring labours Aurangzib was a colossal failure and we find that during his time people were neither good men nor good Muslims; he being the only good Musalman but a bad ruler of a state of composite races, creeds and cultures. Aurangzib's recipe might be excellent from the view-point of a Mujaddid; but it killed the patient nevertheless. In striving after the substance of Islam, Aurangzib reduced the Muslim empire to a shadow before he breathed his last leaving a legacy of communal bitterness to posterity. But all the same Aurangzib had won the heart of the ignorant and the fanatic who remember him as *Alamgir zinda pir*.

¹⁹ *Maktubat-i-Masumia*, Amritsar edition, No. 6, p. 24.

²⁰ Aurangzib, according to Manucci, said just before he died: "I die happy, for at least the world will be able to say that I have employed every effort to destroy the enemies of the Mahomedan faith". Vol. IV, 398.

Section 4. Shah Waliullah Dehlavi and After.

The mission of the Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani, the Religio-Political Reform Movement of the official Islam to establish an ideal Muslim state according to the orthodox notions, was taken up and continued by Shah Waliullah Muhaddis Dehlavi, another Mujaddid of Islam in India²¹. Shah Waliullah was born at Delhi on 14th Shawwal, 1114 A.H. (1703 A.D.) at daybreak. He was named 'Azimuddin, which also yields the date of his birth, though afterwards he came to be known as Waliullah (a deputy of God). He was admitted to school when he was only five years of age. He was circumcised in his seventh year and started keeping the fast of Ramzan and reading of the daily prayers. He finished the reading of the Quran in the same year and was then given instructions in Persian. He mastered the Persian language at the age of ten years. He was married in his fourteen. He was initiated into the *Naqshbandiah* order at the hand of his own father, Shaikh Abdur Rahim²², and devoted his time to practising Sufism. His father conferred the *Khilafat* upon Shah Waliullah when the latter was seventeen and died soon after. Shah Waliullah occupied himself for twelve years in imparting instructions to his disciples. Afterwards he started for Mecca and stayed there for more than a year and during this period he performed the *Hajj* twice in A.H. 1143 and 1144. Shortly after he returned to India and reached Delhi on Friday, 14th Rajab, 1145 A.H. He spent the rest of

²¹ Shah Waliullah declared himself to be the *Qaim-uz-Zaman* (Leader of the time) and *Mujaddid* of his age. *Tafhimat vide Tazkira Shah Waliullah*, Al-Furqan, Bareilly, pp. 354, 410, 411; *Shah Waliullah Dehlavi ke Siyasi Maktubat*, p. nun.

²² Shah Waliullah claimed to be a descendant of Umar al-Faruq, the second Khalif of Islam, from his paternal side. See his *Imdad fi Maasir-ul-Ajdad*. Shaikh Abdur Rahim was an eminent Shaikh and mystic of his time. It is said that Shaikh Abdur Rahim played a prominent part in the compilation of *Fatwa-i-Alamgiri* during the reign of Aurangzib. Shah Waliullah's grandfather, Shaikh Wajihuddin, held a *mansab* under Aurangzib. See for details *Hayat-i-Wali*, Urdu, pp. 34-66, 113-176.

his life in India and devoted himself to the cause of Orthodox Islam in this country. He passed from this world on Muharram 29, 1176 A.H. (1763 A.D.) and is buried at Delhi²³.

Shah Waliullah made a searching analysis of the history of Islam and the conditions of the Musalmans of India of his own age. He clearly saw that the whole trouble was due to the disappearance of the institution of *Khilafat* in favour of *Kingship*. People were accustomed to pay their homage blindly to the reigning sovereign disregarding the fact whether he deserved it or not. Secondly, the spirit of *Ijtihad*²⁴ was practically dead among the Muslim community. The differences and ambiguities in Islam remained where they were. Shah Waliullah made an attempt to reach a healthy solution of the complex problems and to reconcile the conflicting opinions in official Islam. He waged a regular war against the prevalent evils and tried to remove the dusty crust of innovation and indifference on the surface of Islam. He wrote numerous books on Traditions, Theology and Mysticism. He is the founder of a school of *Hadis* and *Tafsir* (commentary). He translated the Quran into Persian— itself a bold challenge to the narrow orthodox prejudice. Shah Waliullah tried to mould the life of the Musalmans according to the Islamic conception of a perfect man. But his efforts were no more successful than those of his predecessors. Though Shah Waliullah failed to remodel the Muslim society of his day, with them his writings are still an asset to be read with delight and benefit.

The activities of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi in the political field are particularly noteworthy. Under the later Mughals the disintegration of

²³ Shah Waliullah has written a short autobiography, *Al-juz-i-Latif fi Tarjumat-al-Abd-i-Z'arif*, from which the above account is abstracted. Also compare *Tazkira Shah Waliullah*, pp. 226, 403-406.

²⁴ *Ijtihad*. Lit. "Exertion". The logical deduction on a legal or theological question by a *Mujtahid* or learned and enlightened doctor, as distinguished from '*Ijma*', which is the collective opinion of the community in general. This method of attaining to a certain degree of authority in searching into the principles of jurisprudence is sanctioned by the Traditions. For details see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, s.v.

the Mughal Empire was complete. The Mughal Crown had become the football of a risky game between the Hindustani and the Turani teams at court, and the Emperor was only a helpless spectator. Shah Waliullah took a keen interest in the politics of his day and gave evidence of great political insight. He concluded that financial breakdown and the oppression of petty tyrants were mainly responsible for political unrest and revolt²⁵. He tried to draw the attention of the ruling chiefs and the Nobility to these evils and exhorted them to rectify the wrong²⁶. But the disease appeared to be incurable. The political supremacy of the Mughal Emperor, according to Shah Waliullah, could not be restored unless the jarring factors of political dissension, specially Jats, Sikhs and Marathas, were weeded out from the political field. Shah Waliullah found the Timurids unfit for this task²⁷. He, therefore, pitched his hopes on Ahmad Shah Abdali and Najibuddaula²⁸, the Rohilla chief, as the standard-bearers of the victorious Crescent in India. Shah Waliullah wrote a long letter to Ahmad Shah Abdali giving him a picture of the political

²⁵ Compare *Hujjat-ul-Lah al-Baligha*, chapter *Siyasat-ul-Madina*. Also see *Tazkira Shah Waliullah*, p. 349.

²⁶ *Siyasi Maktubat*, No. 1.

²⁷ *Ibid*, No. 6.

²⁸ Najib Khan (1707-1770) received the lofty title of Najibuddaula and the *panj-hazari* mansab from the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah (1748-1754) for his loyal services to the Throne. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar Najibuddaula "had no equal in that age except Ahmad Shah Abdali". *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, 415. Najibuddaula was a religious-minded man and according to Shah Abdul Aziz, the son of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, he had nine hundred learned men in his company and paid for their maintenance according to their ability. *Malfuzat-i-Azizia*, p. 81. He founded a *madarsa* which afterwards became a centre of Shah Waliullah's political movement. Najibuddaula was a devotee of Shah Waliullah and used to consult the latter in embarrassed circumstances. Najibuddaula acted as the officer-in-charge in the vanguard of Ahmad Shah Abdali's forces at the Battle of Panipat (1761). Ahmad Shah Abdali appointed him *Anir-ul-Umara* at the time of the former's departure from Hindustan after his fifth invasion. Compare *Siyasi Maktubat*, pp. 199-203.

situation in the country, lamenting the sad plight of the Muslims and guaranteeing Abdali his success²⁹. Then he proceeds: "At this time there is no one except you (among Muslim rulers) who is sagacious and experienced in warfare, who commands power and authority and who could crush the infidel and hostile forces. Surely, it is a duty incumbent upon you to march into Hindustan and shatter the Maratha domination and liberate the Muslims from the clutches of non-Muslims. If the predominance of *kufir* continues at the same pace (as explained above) the Muslim nations will disown Islam and the Muslims will become such that it will not be possible for them to differentiate between Islam and non-Islam. It is also a great calamity; and there is none equal to the task of averting it except you. We appeal you in the name of God to divert your attention to this affair and earn the glory of waging a holy war (*jihad-i-fi sabil-lillah*) and rescue the Muslims from the hands of unbelievers. The undertaking should not resemble the invasion of Nadir Shah (1739) who destroyed the Muslims and left the Marathas and the Jats intact. I fear the day when if the Muslims become still weaker no trace of Islam would remain"³⁰. He further explains to him the merit of fighting against the enemies of Islam and the resultant disgrace on the Day of Judgment in case of neglect.

Shah Waliullah was in close contact with Najibuddaula. The Rohilla chief consulted the Shah in every difficulty. Shah Waliullah used to encourage Najibuddaula with his prevision saying that the former was informed (by some heavenly message) in his dreams that the power of the Marathas, Jats and Sikhs would be ultimately destroyed. He asked Najibuddaula to inform him about the movement of his army against the enemies so that he might devote himself in prayers for the success of the latter against them³¹. Similarly, Shah Waliullah contacted other impor-

²⁹ The letter was written either in 1756 or some time after, that is, during the reign of Alamgir Sani (1754-1759) as is evident from its contents.

³⁰ *Siyasi Maktubat*, No. 2.

³¹ Compare *Ibid*, Nos. 3-9.

tant political figures and induced them to exert their utmost for the suppression of anti-Islamic forces³². The amount of influence exercised by Shah Waliullah could be gathered from the fact that the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah (1748-1754) and the Queen-mother, Nawab Qudsia Begam, the all-powerful authority during the reign of his son, visited the Shah and the Emperor even took his meals with him³³.

Ahmad Shah Abdali had invaded India nine times. His sixth invasion which resulted into the Battle of Panipat (1760-1761) against the Marathas might be taken verily as the Waliullah-sponsored one. Undoubtedly Ahmad Shah Abdali delivered the heaviest blow to the Maratha power and almost two generations of Maratha leaders were liquidated. But the degenerate Mughal Empire could not in any way profit by it. On the other hand the conquerors of Plassey reaped the fruits of the rout of the Marathas at Panipat. The advancing tides of British Imperialism swallowed up all the conflicting factors in the Indian polity and the chances of restoring the Muslim supremacy in India became very remote.

In modern times about half a century after Shah Waliullah's death another zealot with orthodox tendencies appeared in the person of Sayyid Ahmad (1776-1831) of Rai Bareli. About the year 1819 Sayyid Ahmad came forward to denounce the abuses that had crept into the faith and practice of Islam and soon gathered around him many disciples who hailed him as another *Mujaddid*. Sayyid Ahmad made Patna his centre, but had a great following in Calcutta also. Returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca more zealous than ever, he proclaimed the need of *jihad*, since he considered India to be *Darul-harab*. Sayyid Ahmad carried on a *jihad* against the Sikhs and met his death while fighting them near Peshawar in 1831.

Here ends the series of the Mujaddids of Islam in India. With the dawn of the new era the Muslim religious outlook descended into a

³² Ibid, Nos. 19-26.

³³ Ibid, No. 10.

comparatively enlightened channel. The subsequent reformers stood for a rational Islam though there is still a section of the Muslim population which refuses to be guided except by the Quran and the Shari'at and looks down those outside their fold as *Kafirs*. This unhappy legacy of Aurangzib and the Later Mughals, and more so of Ahmad Sarhindi and Shah Waliullah, hangs like a halter on the neck of the reactionaries of Islam in India.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

Though it is customary to add a "Conclusion" to a thesis, it is neither fair to the author nor in accordance with the spirit of historical research. No two scholars perhaps draw the same conclusion from the same set of facts, and so the reader ought to be left free and unprejudiced as the jury to form his own opinion from the judge's "directions to the jury", even which is not necessary because an enlightened reader is as much conversant with the *laws* of historical evidence as the writer himself. (We may, therefore, at best summarize the results of the investigation undertaken in these pages). Unlike the German School of History we started with no theory, or even a hypothesis—which might induce us to mould facts to fit in with any preconceived theory; nor do we believe in any current *Isms*, not even Nationalism, in a cold scientific study of humanities.

1. During the period under review we hardly come across any facts to justify the view that the Muslims constituted a distinct *nation* by themselves, though foreigners impressed by a certain amount of uniformity of religion, social customs, habits and dress spoke of them as "*Mahometan nation*". The Muslim community of India was essentially an integral part of the Indian people having much more

- is common with other peoples of India than with those outside India.
2. It is interesting to note that there was hardly any trace of All-India communal patriotism among the Muslims, who were as sharply differentiated into regional groups with regional patriotisms and habits of life as the non-Muslim peoples; like Bengali, Punjabi, Purbia and the Deccani in our own times.
 3. Race-consciousness and superiority complexes among the Muslims stood in the way of the formation of a distinct and solid national mass.
 4. Indian Muslims never felt quite at home even among the Muslims outside India, nor those of one province were forced to serve in another province, particularly Bengal and the Deccan.
 5. Though Muslim society is theoretically a caste-less society, political, social and economic factors did cut up the Muslim community into classes as rigid in composition as castes; e.g., Arabs, Clients and Slaves under the Umayyads. Within India Islam could not altogether escape the contagion of the caste-system, which ensures unchallenged superiority to the soldier and the priest. Low class Indian converts could not altogether wipe off their brand of inferiority to the upper class Muslims, though their lot improved economically and politically. The gulf between the constituent parts of the Muslim community was wide and deep.
 6. The King and the Nobility set the tone of society in spite of the theological thunders of the Ulema. They were the life-springs of culture and refinement. Their habits and hobbies, virtues and vices, spread to the masses, virtue lagging behind though.
 7. The period under review marks the twilight of the Age of Akbar and the gathering clouds of reaction started chiefly by Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, more famous as Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani. He meant well of the Muslims and initiated a religio-political movement to arrest the moral and religious degeneration of the Muslims through the agency of the State. He laboured under the delusion

that "the King is the soul", and if the ruler reverts to true Islam (of his conception) everything would be set right automatically. The Mujaddid surely succeeded in collecting under his banner the Emperor and the Nobility as well as a considerable section of the common people. Rulers and nobles after the Alamgirshahi regime were moral knaves and wrecks, who cared less for Allah and more for *ashrafi* and *ayesh* (gold and pleasure). The commonalty were no better than religious fools who evinced their zeal less by rectifying their lives and more by rioting in the name of religion, imbibing communal hatred without spiritual elevation. This so-called Reform Movement in Islam adversely affected the political destiny of the Indian Muslims. During the reign of Akbar Muslims on the whole were better *men* though indifferent Musalmans; whereas the teachings of the Mujaddid made them correct Muslims but less acceptable citizens forgetful of Akbar's ideal "to live and let live".

8. Shahjahan in spite of his personal orthodoxy held the balance even in politics, which was disturbed in the reign of Aurangzib, and completely wrecked in the weak hands of Aurangzib's successors.
9. The great redeeming feature of the life of the Muslim community of Hindustan during the period under review, is that they had much fewer points of quarrel with other communities than those of later times. Beneath the turmoil of political confusion the even tenor of the Indianization of the Muslim community continued uninterrupted. Ancient Indian learning was patronized by the Mughal Court, and Hindi literature flourished under Muslim patronage and was enriched by Muslim contributions. It is also curious to note that whereas the Hindus learnt more of Persian, Muslims seem to be more anxious to Sanskritize Hindi poetry; a comparison of the Hindi style of Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim with that of Nur Muhammad's *Indravati* written in the time of Emperor Muhammad Shah would bear out this fact,

On the whole the wholesome principle of "Give and Take" in the cultural life of India continued undisturbed, and Muslims had less prejudice to import silently colourful Hindu customs in birth and marriage festivities of their own, and to partake of the mirth and joy of gay Hindu festivals, like *Holi* and *Hindola* (Swinging in the rainy season).

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Maasir-i-Rahimi, the Memoirs of Muhammad Abdul Baqi Nihan-

wandi, an official under Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, to whom the work is dedicated. They were composed in 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.) and deal with the politics of the latter part of the reign of Akbar and the early part of that of Jahangir. The *Khatima* (ff. 478v-756v) is important for the biographical notes on learned men, saints, poets, generals etc. of that time. I have consulted the Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. It has been also printed in Bib. Ind. in 4 vols., edited by Hedayat Husain.

Mirat-ul-Alam of Muhammad Baqa usually ascribed to his patron, Bakhtawar Khan. The Lucknow University Library contains a very good Ms. copy.

Maasir-i-Jahangiri of Khwaja Kamgar Ghairat Khan, important for the life of Jahangir before his accession. Ms. in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna.

Miftah-ut-Tawarikh of Thomas William Beale, Newal Kishore Press, Kanpur, 1867.

Nuskha-i-Dilkusha of Bhim Sen Burhanpuri, Ms. in possession of the family of Zahiruddin Faruki of Badaun.

Riyaz-us-Salatin of Ghulam Husain Salim, ed. Abdul Haq Abid, Calcutta, 1890. English translation by Maulvi Abdus Salam, M.A., Calcutta, 1902-1904.

Siyar-ul-Mutakhhirin of Sayyid Ghulam Husain Khan Tabatabai, 2nd ed., 3 vols., Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1897; Raymond's English translation (2nd ed.) published by R. Cambray, 3 vols.

Shahnama-i-Munawwar Qalam of Sheo Das Lakhnawi, memoirs concerning the reign of Farrukh Siyar and first four years of Muhammad Shah. Ms. in Asiatic Society of Bengal Library, Calcutta.

Tarikh-i-Firishta of Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Firishta Astrabadi, 3rd ed., 2 vols., Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1905. A tolerably good English translation by Lieutenant-Colonel John Briggs, 4 vols., London, 1829. Briggs has left out the chapter on the saints etc. of India untranslated.

Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri or Memoirs of Jahangir, Rogers and Beveridge, 2 vols., London, 1909-1914.

Tabaqat-i-Akbari of Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, English translation by B. De, M.A., 3 vols., Calcutta, 1927-1939 (Bib. Ind.).

Tarikh-i-Alfi of Maulana Ahmad and others. Mss. in Lucknow, Aligarh, Rampur, and Calcutta. Most complete copy is the copy in possession of the Nawab of Murshidabad.

Tarikh-i-Haqqi of Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi. It is a general history of Muslim India, is useful as presenting the story of Akbar's reign by a contemporary writer who came to be regarded as a saint after his death and does thus provide a corrective to Badauni's picture of Akbar. Ms. in the Punjab Public Library, Lahore.

Tarikh-i-Sindh of Muhammad Masum, English translation by Captain George Grenville Malet, Bombay, 1855.

Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haider Dughlat, a History of the Mughals of Central Asia, English translation, E. Denison Ross, ed. N. Elias, London, 1895.

Tabaqat-i-Nasiri of Minhaj-us-Siraj, English translation by Major Raverty, London, 1873.

Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Ziauddin Barani, ed. Sayyid Ahmad, Calcutta, 1891 (Bib. Ind.).

Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi of Shams-i-Siraj Afif, ed. Wilayat Husain, Calcutta (Bib. Ind.).

Tajziyat-ul-Amsar of Abdullah Wassaf, British Museum, Add. 23,517 (1); Add. 7,625 (2).

Waq-i-Niamat Khan 'Ali, Newal Kishore Press, Kanpur, 1884.

Waq'iat-i-Alamgiri of Aqil Khan Razi, ed. Zafar Hasan, text with English summary, Delhi, 1945-1946.

Waq-i-Mahabat Jang or *Ahwal-i-Mahabat Jang* of Yusuf Ali, English translation by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, published by Asiatic Society of Bengal as *Nawabs of Bengal*, 1952. It contains an account of the exploits of Ali Vardi Khan entitled Mahabat Jang. The events are brought down to 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.). Ms. in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna.

Waq'iat-i-Asad Beg. Asad Beg, a personal servant of Abul Fazl, gives a clear account of the plot to set aside Jahangir in favour of Khusrau; of Akbar's death and of Jahangir's accession. Mss. in the State Library, Rampur, and Muslim University, Aligarh.

Zabdat-ut-Tawarikh of Shaikh Nurul Haq. His views on the religious debates of his times are very valuable. The Public Library of Lucknow has a very good Ms.

II. TAZKIRAHs

Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar fi Asrar-ul-Abrar, the well-known collection of biographical notes on the saints of India, of Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi. Completed in 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.) and published by Mujtabai Press, Delhi, 1309 A.H. The *Khatima* treats of the author's ancestors, family, and his own life.

Akhbar-ul-Asfiya of Abdus Samad, a nephew of Abul Fazl Allami, containing the biographical notices of the most renowned saints and holy men who lived or visited India. Ms. in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna.

Aqa'id-i-Sharifa contains the teachings of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri written by the Sayyid's son-in-law and *Khalifa*. Ms. in possession of Maulana Shahabuddin of Hyderabad copied in 1278 A.H.

Ahwal Aimmah Asna 'Ashr of Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi, being an account of the life and noble deeds of the twelve Imams completed in A.H. 1010 (A.D. 1601). Ms. in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna.

Anfas-ul-Arifin of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi giving an account of himself and his ancestors, Matba-i-Ahmadi, Delhi, 1897.

Bustan-ul-Muhaddisin of Shah Abdul Aziz, son of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, Matba-i-Muhammadi, Lahore.

Dabistan-ul-Mazahib of Muhsin Fani (?), the well-known work giving an account of the different religions and sects of the East. Lith. Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow. English translation by David Shea and A. Troyer, 3 vols., Paris, 1843.

Gulzar-i-Abrar of Muhammad Ghous-i-Shattari, a sort of biographical dictionary of Hindustani saints from 700 to 1000 A.H. The

author who was a resident of the Deccan was requested to write this *Tazkirah* by the nobles of Akbar who were with him during his Deccan campaign. The book was completed in Jahangir's reign and contains a praise of the Emperor (folio 7b). The author deals with the religious activities of the court of Akbar and their reactions on the saints of the age. *Daftar-i-Diwani*, Hyderabad Ms., copied on 5 Zilqada, 1161 A.H. by Nazr Muhammad of Burhanpur.

Haft Aqlim. A very important geographico-biographical encyclopaedia completed in 1002 A.H. (1594 A.D.), only one part published in the Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1918.

Halnama said to be an autobiography of Bayazid Ansari. Aligarh Ms. brings it down to 1062 A.H. The author, Ali Muhammad son of Aba Bakr, was a disciple of *Pir-i-Raushan*. His father served Jalala and his *Khalifa* Ilahtad and afterwards Jahangir. He had helped the Mughal Emperor in subduing the rebellion of Prince Khurram.

Hamesha Bahar, a biographical dictionary of Persian poets who flourished in India from the time of Jahangir to the accession of Muhammad Shah with notices of some poets who lived in Akbar's time arranged in alphabetical order completed in A.H. 1136 (A.D. 1723) by Kishan Chand *Ikhlās*, who died during the reign of Ahmad Shah. Ms. in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna.

Hazarat-ul-Quds of Shaikh Badruddin Sarhindi, dealing with the life, miracles etc. of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, his spiritual guide, Khwaja Baqi Billah and other religious saints in 2 vols. But Vol. II is entirely devoted to Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, his sons and Khalifas. The author resided with the Mujaddid for seventeen years and was his *murid* and *Khalifa*. The Persian text is now rare. Urdu translation by Khwaja Ahmad Husain, Mansur Steam Press, Lahore.

Imdad fi Maasir-ul-Ajdad of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, a short account of his ancestors tracing the origin upto Umar Faruq, published with other *Risalas*, n.p., n.d.

Jala-i-al-'Uyun of Mulla Muhammad Baqar Majlisi. It deals with the lives of twelve Shia Imams. Urdu translation under the title *Ad-*

Dama' al-Hatun by Abdul Husain, 2 vols., Jafri Press, Lucknow, 1301-1302 A.H.

Al-Juz-i-Latif fi Tarjumat-i-Abd-i-Za'if, a short autobiography of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi, n.p., n.d.

Karamat-ul-Auliya of Nizamuddin Ahmad bin Muhammad Saleh Sadiqi Husaini. A collection of the biographies and pious utterances of various Sufi saints, as well as stories about their miracles, from the earliest period of Sufi movement down to the compiler's time. The work was composed in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.). Special regard is paid to the Shaikhs who lived in India. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Kalimat-us-Sadiqin, a very valuable and extremely rare work, consisting of biographical notices of saints who lie buried at Delhi and its neighbourhood, of Muhammad Sadiq Hamadani. The author belonged to the *Naqshbandiah* order and Khwaja Baqi Billah was his spiritual guide. The work is important for the lives of the Khwaja and Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi. It was completed on 22nd Rajab, 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.). The Ms. is in possession of Khudabakhsh Library, Patna.

Kalimat-ush-Shu'ara of Muhammad Afzal Sarkhush. It contains biographical notices of the poets who flourished during the reigns of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzib. Ms. in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna.

Khazinat-ul-Asfiya of Ghulam Sarwar Lahori, 2 vols., Samar-i-Hind Press, Lucknow, 1290 A.H.

Mirat-ul-Khiyal. An important collection of biographical notes on poets and poetesses, arranged chronologically. There are besides extensive discussions on the occult sciences, medicine, cosmogony and other matters. Composed in 1102 A.H. (1690-1691) by Sher Khan son of Ali Amjad Khan Lodi, Calcutta, 1831.

Mirat-ul-Asrar of Abdur Rahman Chishti. It is an extensive and valuable biographical work containing the lives of all the renowned saints, religious heroes and great Shaikhs who lived from the rise of Islam to the first half of the 9th century. The work was completed in

1065 A.H. (1654 A.D.). Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal and Patna (Khudabakhsh).

Mirat-i-Madari of Abdur Rahman Chishti. It is a very sane account of the life of Shah Madar, the popular saint of India. Ms. in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna. Syed Masud Hasan Rizvi of Lucknow has a good Ms. Copy of the work.

Mirat-i-Masudi of Abdur Rahman Husaini, a disciple of Salar Masud Ghazi. The work is a biography of Sayyid Salar Masud Ghazi. It is based on Mulla Muhammad Ghaznavi's book on the life of Sayyid Salar. Transcribed on 18th Safar, 1280 A.H. (4th August, 1863) by Sital Prasad Qanungo Bilgrami. Ms. in possession of Syed Masud Hasan Rizvi of Lucknow.

Maulud Shah Abdur Rahman, an original record of the life of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, the founder of the Mahdawi sect, written by Abdur Rahman son of Shah Nizam, a *Khalifa* of the Jaunpuri Mahdi. Maulvi Najmuddin of Hyderabad, a Mahdawi *'alim*, has a modern copy.

Matla-ul-Wilayat of Mian Sayyid Yusuf. It is a life of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri written in 1016 A.H. at the request of Faizi when he was sent as an envoy to Burhanpur. One Ms. in possession of Maulvi Najmuddin of Hyderabad.

Al-Miyar of Khwandamir, a life of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri written in 927 A.H., Rizvi press, Bangalore.

M'arifat-ul-Mazahib of Muhammad Tahir Ghazzali, dealing with the elementary principles of the Sunnites and a list of seventy-three sects of Islam. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Majma-ul-Auliya of Ali Akbar Husaini Ardastani, completed in A.H. 1043 (1633-1634 A.D.) and dedicated to Shahjahan. It is a comprehensive and interesting biographical work containing the lives of all the most renowned saints, religious heroes and great mystic Shaikhs. Chapter VII deals with the Shaikhs of the *Naqshbandi* order and Turkish Shaikhs, from Khwaja Yusuf Hamadani to Khwaja Muhammad Masum, the son and successor of Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani. The Ms. is noticed by

Ethe. An incomplete copy is in the possession of the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Mana'ib-ul-Hazarat of Muhammad Murad bin Habibullah, a more modern Tazkirah of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi and his sons and *Khalifas* written between A.H. 1139 and 1140 (1726-1728 A.D.), Ms. in the India Office Library, London.

Maasir-ul-Umara compiled by Samsamuddaula Shah Nawaz Khan and his son Abdul Haq, 3 vols., Calcutta (Bib. Ind.).

Nikat-ul-Asrar of Adam bin Isma'il, who at first was a pupil of Shaikh Khizr Multani and subsequently became the disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi. The book contains Sufi aphorisms on the different topics of mystic doctrines according to the *Naqshbandi* order, with observations on the teachings and doctrines of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi. The Ms. is in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna.

Naqliat Mian Abdur Rashid of Abdur Rashid, father of Mian Mustafa. Eight Chapters: The proof of the Mahdi; Disbelief in the Mahdi; On offering prayers behind a non-Mahdi; On going to the house of the opponents of the Mahdi and hearing their discourses; the exhortations of the Mahdi; On contentment; On Mortification; On the prohibition of the study of sciences. Ms. owned by Maulana Shahabuddin of Hyderabad.

Rauzat-ul-Qayyumiyyah, a very detailed compilation on the lives and miracles of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi and his three immediate successors, by Khwaja Kamaluddin Muhammad Ehsan. The author was a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi in the fourth generation. The book was written during the reign of Muhammad Shah. It is very difficult to accept all that is put down in this book but it becomes valuable where the author gives extracts from the contemporary accounts because he had access to the sources at that time which are lacking at present. The book has been translated into Urdu, Civil Steam Press, Lahore, n.d.

Rashahat of Mulla Ali bin Husain al-Waiz al-Kashfi, a collection of biographies of great *Naqshbandi* Shaikhs, principally of Shaikh Ubaidullah Ahrar, Newal Kishore Press, Kanpur, 1912.

Safinat-ul-Auliya of Dara Shukoh. The opinion of Dara about Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi is very valuable. Newal Kishore Press, Kanpur, 1884.

Tazkirat-ul-Umara of Kewal Ram son of Raghunath Das completed in 1194 A.H. (1780 A.D.). It is a collection of biographies of various high officials and noblemen, both Muslim and Hindu, who served under the Mughals. A Ms. copy is in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Tazkira Mashaikh-i-Kashmir, a rare hagiological work dealing with the Muslim saints of Kashmir, who lived there in 1400-1600 A.D. The details about the author are lacking. Besides materials for the study of Sufism in Kashmir, there is much information with regard to the general style of life in Medieval India, and specially concerning local folklore. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Tabsirat-ul-Awam of Sayyid Murtaza. It gives an account of various religious creeds and sects of the world with special reference to Islam and is conceived in a strictly Shi'ite sense. Lith. with *Qisas-ul-Ulema*. Tehran, 1304 A.H.

Tazkirat-ul-Abrar of Abdul Ghafoor bin Ziauddin. The book mainly deals with the life of the author's preceptor Shaikh Abdul Wahhab and his son Abdul Ghaffar. The author was also a disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah and Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi. Shaikh Abdul Ghaffar had taken part in many debates in the *Ibadat-khana*; the author's notice of these discussions is interesting. It was written in 1035 A.H. (Daftar-i-Diwani, Hyderabad Ms.).

Tarikh-i-Akhun Darweza. The author was of Tajik origin and chiefly resided at Bunhar in the Yusufzai country. He studied under Sayyid Ali Tirmizi. Both of them were opponents of Bayazid Ansari. The treatise was written in 1021 A.H. with a view to refute the *Raushaniyas* and to present the true nature of their beliefs. Aligarh Ms. folio 131 to 150 contains an account of Bayazid.

Tarikh-i-Sulaimani, a detailed history of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri and a history of the Mahdawis down to 1232 A.H. The Ms. is in possession of Shahabuddin Library, Hyderabad.

Tazkira Mazahib-i-Haftad wa Sehana of Muhammad bin Abdur Rahman, written in 1094 A.H. (27th Jamadi-ul-Awwal), transcribed on 16th Shawwal, (?) 29. According to the author there are eight principal sects in Islam with sixty-five sub-divisions which make the seventy-three sects in all. Ms. in possession of Syed Masud Hasan Rizvi of Lucknow. The Ms. is nicely written and very well preserved.

Tazkira Aulad Hazrat Mujaddid of Qazi Sanaullah Panipati (d. 1225 A.H.). Ms. in Nadvat-ul-Ulema, Lucknow (Sayyid Nurul Hasan Collection).

Zabdat-ul-Maqamat of Muhammad Hashim Kishmi of Burhanpur. It is a biography of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi and his spiritual guide Khwaja Muhammad Baqi Billah. The author wrote this work at the request of Ahmad Sarhindi's sons and that he had not proceeded far with the work when the saint died. The author was a disciple of Shaikh Ahmad and he constantly attended on him for nearly two years. The author chose two titles for this work, viz., *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat* and *Barakat-ul-Ahmadiya al-Baqiyah*. The work was completed in 1037 A.H. (1627 A.D.). The book also contains the account of Mujaddid's sons and *Khalifas*. Ms. in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna. It has been published by Newal Kishore Press, Kanpur, n.d. I have used the lith. edition.

III. EPISTOLARY

Adab-i-Alamgiri, official letters and various documents belonging to the reign of Aurangzib written in his name by his secretary Abul Fath Qabil Khan, collected and arranged by Sadiq Muttalibi. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Dastur-i-Amal Agahi, letters of Aurangzib, Ms. in possession of Syed Masud Hasan Rizvi of Lucknow.

Gulshah-i-Ajaib, a collection of official letters chiefly pertaining to the correspondence between Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah on one side and Nizamul-Mulk Asafjah and other amirs on the other, compiled by Ram Singh, a Munshi of Asafjah. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Insha-i-Madho Ram, compiled in 1120 A.H. by Madho Ram, an employee of Lutfullah Khan, son of Sadullah Khan. Lith. Lucknow, 1885.

Insha-i-Har Karan, text with English translation by Francis Balfour, Calcutta, 1781.

Kalimat-i-Tayyibat, a collection of Aurangzib's official letters, notes etc., arranged and edited in 1719 by one of his secretaries, Inayatullah. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Khas-ul-Insha or *Insha-i-Khas-ul-Khas*, a collection of Aurangzib's letters by Muhammad Kazim, author of *Alamgirnama*. The Ms. is not known anywhere else. It is in the possession of Syed Masud Hasan Rizvi of Lucknow. It is written in *Shikast* and very difficult to read due to the *Shikast* character in which it is written and the damage done to it by worms. The pages are not properly arranged but the Ms. is complete. It was transcribed by Ram Ghulam and finished on Zilqada 5, 1164 A.H. (*Kunwar, Sambat* 1893, A.D. 1751). The letters are important for the study of internal conditions of Aurangzib's reign.

Lataif-i-Faizi or *Insha-i-Faizi*. The work was compiled by Shaikh Nûruddin Muhammad, who was the son of his sister. The Ms. in the State Library, Rampur, contains 245 pages.

Letters of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami of Muslim University, Aligarh, has published twenty-six letters of Shah Waliullah Dehlavi of political import with text and Urdu translation under the title "*Shah Waliullah Dehlavi ke Siyasi Maktubat*". These letters have been selected out of a collection of 353 letters in 2 vols., collected by Shaikh Abdur Rahman and Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashiq.

Maktubat-i-Quddusia of Abul Quddus Gangohi, collected and arranged by Budhan bin Rukn Jaunpuri. The letters mainly deal with the doctrines of Sufism, lith. Delhi, 1870.

Munshat-i-Abul Fatah, Letter of Abul Fatah Gilani, known as *Char-bagh*. It is very useful for relations among nobles of Akbar's court. Ms. in Muslim University, Aligarh.

Maktubat Shaikh Abdul Haq Dehlavi, published by the Mujtabai Press,

Delhi, along with *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar*. One Ms. in Aligarh University. Among the addressees are Shaikh Farid Bukhari, Faizi and Khan Khanan.

Maktubat Shaikh Sharafuddin Yahya Muniri, 2nd ed., Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1898. It is important for the exposition of Muslim faith and Sufi terminology. We find a reference that Aurangzib devoted himself to the study of the writings of Yahya Muniri along with those of Imam Ghazzali and others.

Maktubat Khwaja Masum. The letters of Khwaja Muhammad Masum have been published at two places. There is one edition published by Nizami Press, Kanpur, in 1887 A.D. and it contains 239 epistles. And there is another publication being the collection of Haji Muhammad 'Ashur Bukhari, an adherent of the Khwaja by Nur Ahmad Amritsari, Roz Bazar Press, Amritsar, styled *Maktubat-i-Masumia Vol. III*. The letters in the two publications differ. In fact Vol. I and II of *Maktubat-i-Masumia* have been published by Nizami Press because the contents and number of the *Maktubs* when verified in the light of contemporary works, make it clear. Vol. III is very rare. I have consulted the copy which is in possession of Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi of Bara Banki. There is an incomplete copy of the Ms. in Khudabakhsh Library, Patna.

Maktubat-i-Imam-i-Rabbani or Letters of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi in 3 vols: Vol. I contains 313 epistles and was compiled in 1025 A.H. by Maulana Yar Muhammad Badakhshi; Vol. II contains 99 letters collected by Abdul Hai in 1028 A.H.; Vol. III contains 222 letters and was collected by Muhammad Hashim Kishmi of Burhanpur, the author of *Zabdat-ul-Maqamat*, in 1031 A.H. All the three volumes were lith. at Ahmadi Press, Delhi, 1288 A.H. along with the *Risala Radd-i-Rawafiz* and Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow. I have used the Lucknow edition.

The letters of Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani deal with every aspect of Orthodox Islam and are addressed to all the top-ranking nobles of the court of Akbar and Jahangir. It should be noted that the letters were not strictly

private but received a wide circulation. They may be styled as "*Mujaddid Gazette*".

Ruq'at-i-Abul Fazl, 3 vols., Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1329 A.H.

Ruq'at-i-Alamgir, Newal Kishore Press, Kanpur, 1281 A.H. English translation by J.H. Bilimoria, Bombay, 1908.

Ruq'at-i-Abdul Latif, a collection of official letters useful for the study of the history of Jahangir's reign and the beginning of that of Shahjahan, compiled by Abdul Latif bin Abdullah Abbasi Gujrati (d. 1638-1639). The majority of letters in this collection belong to the correspondence of Lashkar Khan, a governor of Kabul in whose employment the author was for some time. There are several epistles to and from Khan Khanan Abdur Rahim to Asaf Khan, Mahabat Khan, Hashim Khan etc. The Ms. is in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Raqaim-i-Karaim, a collection of Aurangzib's private letters to one of the favourite amirs, Amir Khan Sindhi (d. 1719). They were arranged after the latter's death by his son Ashraf Khan Mir Muhammad Husain. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Ramz wa Isharaha-i-Alamgiri, a collection of Aurangzib's letters mostly written to Prince Alijah and Inayatullah Khan. It was compiled by the orders of Raja Aya Mal by Sidh Mal, having the *takhallus Ram* in 1669 A.D. Ms. in possession of Syed Masud Hasan Rizvi of Lucknow.

Shuqajat-i-Alamgiri or Letters of Aurangzib. The Ms. is in possession of Syed Masud Hasan Rizvi of Lucknow. It is defective both in the beginning and at the end. The letters are important for the study of Muslim social life of the period. Some of the letters are common to *Shuqajat-i-Alamgiri* and *Ramz wa Isharaha-i-Alamgiri*.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Ahkam-i-Alamgiri or Anecdotes of Aurangzib of Hamiduddin Khan, Persian text with English translation by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1912.

Akhlaq-i-Jalali of Mulla Jalaluddin, 10th ed., Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1891.

Burhan-i-Qati'a of Muhammad Husain Burhan, 3rd ed., 2 vols., Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1888.

Diwan-i-Hashim, poems of Hashim bin Muhammad Qasim, with the *takhallus Hashim*, who belonged to the Indian branch of the *Naqshbandi* order, flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century. On folio 28v there is a *masnavi* in praise of Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Fawaid-i-Firuz Shahi, an interesting religious encyclopaedia, giving a condensed account of all kinds of beliefs, observances, rules for behaviour in every possible circumstances etc. for a Muslim. Apart from its theological value, the book reveals a great deal of interesting information concerning the folk-lore and the life of the Medieval Muslim community in India of the fourteenth century. The author Sharaf (uddin) Muhammad dedicated it to Firuz Shah Tughlaq. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Ganj-i-S'aadat of Muinuddin and dedicated to Aurangzib, deals with the moderate form of Sufism in accordance with the traditions of *Naqshbandi* order. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Hilyatul-Muttaqin, the well-known work on the customs and practices prescribed to every faithful Shi-ite desiring to follow the example of the Imams, of Muhammad Baqir bin Muhammad Taqi Majlisi (d. 1698-1700). The work was completed at the end of 1079 A. H. (1669 A. D.) and was several times lithographed in Persia.

Hadiqat-ush-Shia of Ahmad bin Muhammad Ardabili, a Shia treatise on the Caliphate and Imamate, lith. Tehran, 1849.

Hasht-Bihisht of Amir Khusrau, Aligarh, 1918.

Ijaz-i-Khusravi of Amir Khusrau, 5 parts, Lucknow, 1875-1876.

Kunz-ul-Hidayat of Muhammad Baqir bin Sharafuddin Lahori Abbasi Husaini. It is a treatise on the principal points of Sufi doctrines according to the beliefs of the Indian *Naqshbandi* affiliation based on the letters and *Risala al-Mabda wa al-Maad* of Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani Sarhindi. Ms. in the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Khair-ul-Bayan of Mian Bayazid Ansari. According to *Dabistan-ul-*

Mazahib it was written in four languages: Arabic, Persian, Hindi and Pashto. Rampur State Library has a Persian version. Notice of a Pashto version by Morgenstierne in *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, 1939-1940.

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